TABAKAT-I-AKBARI

OF

NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD BAKHSHI

TABAKAT-I-AKBARI

of

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Bakhshi

By

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited By

PROF. JOHN DOWSON

Sind Sagar Academy

Chowk Minar Anarkali Lahore Pakistan.

First Edition : 1871
First Pakistani Edition : 1975

Printed at Nudrat Printers Lahore and Published by
M. Masood, Sind Sagar Academy, Lahore (Pakistan)

PART ONE

CONTENTS

[1] The author of this work styled it *Tabakat-i Akbarshahi*, and it is so called by 'Abu-l Kadir Badauni in his *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh;* but the name by which it is best known in literary circles is *Tabakat-i Akbari*. It is also called, after the name of the author, *Tarikh-i Nizami*, and the author himself observes it as a fortunate coincidence that the word *Nizami* represents the date of its composition. In the *Rauzatu-t Tahirin* it seems to be called *Tarikh-i Sultan Nizami*.

This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognized by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely. Badauni the author of the *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, professes his work to be simply an abridgment of this, and acknowledges himself to be chiefly indebted to it for the relation of all events down to A.H. 1002[2] (A.D 1953). Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete.

The *Ma-asiru-l Umara* says, "This work cost the author much care and reflection in ascertaining facts and collecting materials, and as Mir Ma'sum Bhakari and other persons of note afforded their assistance in the compilation, it is entitled to much credit. It is the first history which contains a detailed account of all the Muhammadan princes of Hindustan...From this work Muhammad Kasim Firishta and others have copiously extracted, and it forms the basis of their histories, deficiencies being supplied by additions of their own; but the *Tabakat* occasionally

[1] [*This article is chiefly the work of Sir H. Elliot, and appeared in the old volume, but it has been re-cast by the Editor, and several additions have been made from Col. Lees' article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. iv, (N.S.), and from other sources.*]

[2] *The author of the 'Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghana' copied the reign of Humayun verbatim.*

seems at variance with the accounts given by the celebrated Abu-l Fazl. It is therefore left to the reader to decide which of the two authors is most entitled to credit."

European authors also hold the work in high esteem. Erskine considers Nizamu-d din to be perhaps the best historian of the period, and Col. Lees is unable to conceive the reason why his work has not attracted more attention.

The *Ma-asiru-l Umara* gives the following account of our author.

Khwaja Nizamu-d din Ahmad was the son of Khwaja Mukim Harawi, who was one of the dependents of His Majesty Babar, and who, at the latter part of the king's reign, was raised to the office of *diwan* of the household.[3] After the death of Babar, when Gujarat was conquered by Humayun, and the province of Ahmadabad was entrusted to Mirza 'Askari, Khwaja Mukim was appointed *wazir* to the Mirza. He accompanied Humayun to Agra, when that monarch fled with precipitation after his defeat by Sher Khan Sur at Chaunsa. The Khwaja subsequently served under Akbar.

His son, Nizamu-d din, was incomparably upright, and excelled all his contemporaries in administrative knowledge, as well as in the clearness of his intellect. It is stated in the *Zakhiratu-l Khawanin*, that at the opening of his career, he was appointed *diwan* of the household by Akbar, but this statement has not been found in any other work.

In the twenty-ninth year of Akbar's reign, when the government of Gujarat was entrusted to 'Itimad Khan, Khwaja Nizamu-d din was appointed to the office of *bakhshi* of that province, and when Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat engaged in hostilies, 'Itimad Khan left the Khwaja's son, together with his own, to protect the city, he himself with the Khwaja having quitted it, with the object of bringing over Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan from Kari, which is situated at the distance of forty miles from Ahmadabad; but during their absence the city fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the house of the Khwaja was plundered.

[3] *He is spoken of in Babar's Memoirs.*

After this, in a battle which was fought with those turbulent people, the Khwaja used his best exertions to quell the insurrection with his small body of troops, in conjuction with Shahabu-d din Khan and 'Itimad Khan, but without success; and he therefore retreated to Pattan.

On the occasion of (Mirza Khan) the Khan-khanan's attack upon Muzaffar Gujarati, at Bir Ganj, about six miles from Ahmadabad, the Khawja was appointed at the head of a detachment to attack the enemy from the rear, but in this action he again did not achieve any great success, though he used his best exertions. Nizamu-d din continued for a long time *bakhshi* of the province of Gujarat, and his services will be found recorded in his history of Akbar's reign.

In 998 A.H. and the thirty-fourth year of the reign (A.D. 1589-90) when the government of Gujarat was entrusted to Khan-i, 'Azam the Subadar of Malwa, and Jaunpur was bestowed upon Khan-khanan in lieu of his *jagir* of Gujarat, Nizamu-d din Ahmad was summoned to the King's presence; upon which occasion, with a number of camel-riders, he accomplished 1,200 miles by forced marches, and arrived at Lahore[4] on the festival of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the coronation. His camel-riders and retinue being an object of great attraction and wonderment, the King expressed a desire to inspect them; and as he was much gratified at this exhibition of the Khwaja's taste and ingenuity, he conferred great honours upon him.

In the thirty-seventh year of the reign, when Asaf Khan Mirza Ja'far Bakhshi-begi was ordered to destroy Jalala Raushani, the Khwaja was appointed to the post of *bakhshi*. In the thirty-ninth year of the reign, corresponding with 1003 H., when the King was out on a hunting excursion, the Khwaja was attacked with a severe fever at Shaham 'Ali which reduced him very much. His sons obtained permission from the King to convey him to Lahore, but as soon as they arrived at the

[4] *The 'Wakiat-i Mushtaki' (MS, fol. 204 v.) says, that the party completed this distance of 600 kos in twelve days, i.e., at the rate of 100 miles a day.*

banks of the Ravi, the Khwaja expired. and "the crocodile of death dragged him into the sea of annihilation."

'Abid Khan, one of Nizamu-d din's sons, was favoured with frequent marks of distinction by His Majesty Jahangir, and was employed by him in various capacities. The office of *bakhshi* of the *suba* of Gujarat, which devolved on him by hereditary right, was resigned, owing to a disagreement between him and 'Abdu-lla Khan Firoz Jang, governor of that province, by whom he was most shamefully treated. After resigning the appointment, he took only two sheets, the one wrapped round his waist, and the other round his head, as if prepared for burial, and went thus before Jahangir, accompanied by several Takiya Mughals. This mark of his humiliation was approved of by the King, and he was pardoned. He was afterwards appointed an immediate attendant of the King, through the recommendation of the heir-apparent, and was subsequently promoted to the office of *diwan* of that prince. While holding this employment, he, with Sharif Khan Bakhshi, and several others of the body-guard, was killed at Akbar-nagar in Bengal, in a battle fought by the prince on the burial-ground where the body of the son of Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang was interred. 'Abid Khan had no son. His son-in-law, Muhammad Sharif, was for a short time governor of a strong fortress in the Dekhin, and was afterwards appointed *hajib* (chamberlain) of Hyderabad, in which capacity he passed the remainder of his days till his death.[5]

Abdu-l Kadir Badauni, who, like many others, was as staunch a friend as he was a bitter foe, gives a very favourable account of Nizamu-d din. He says that in carrying into effect his projects of economy, Nizamu-d din gave offence to Kalij Khan, but that he received such unqualified support from the Emperor, who entertained the highest opinion of his zeal and integrity, that his opponent, together with his adherents, were soon provided for in distant posts, instead of being kept at Court, to frustrate the endeavours of Nizamu-d din to introduce reform into the departments under his control.

[5] *Ma-asiru-l Umara, s. v. Khwaja Nizamu-d din.*

"Nizamu-d din," continues 'Abdu-l Kadir, "left a good name behind him. I was especially attached to him by the ties both of religion and friendship. When he dried, tears of sorrow fell from my eyes, and I beat my breast with the stone of despair. After a short time; I bowed in resignation to the heavenly decree, but was so much afflicted by the bereavement, that I vowed I would never thereafter cultivate a new friendship with any other man. He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003, and was buried in his own garden at Lahore. There was not a dry eye at his death, and there was no person who did not, on the day of his funeral, call to mind his excellent qualities, and who did not hold between his teeth the back of the hand of grief. The following Chronogram records the date of his death ; Mirza Nirzamu-d din has departed ; in haste, but with honour, has he gone to his final doom. His sublime soul has fled to the celestial regions, and Kadiri has found the date of his death in these words, 'A jewel without price has left this world.' "[6]

The author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari* assigns as his reasons for composing his work, that he had, "from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strenghthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation." He found that in "the wide plains of Hindustan, which form an empire of vast extent," the "governing classes had assumed the title and discharged the duties of rulers" in many of its divisions, "such as Delhi, Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal, and Sindh," and "the authors of their times have written histories of their affairs, and have bequeathed them as memorials to posterity...... It is most extraordinary, therefore, that not a single work containing a complete compendium of the affairs of this (entire) division (of the world) has yet been written by any historian ; neither have the events connected with the centre of Hindustan, the seat of government of this Empire,

[6] *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh.* (*Abu-l Fazl also, in the Akbar-nama, alludes to tht general mourning that followed the death of this distinguished author ; and says that the Emperor was deeply affected by it, and offered prayers for his soul.*)

the capital Delhi, been collected in one book. The work which is best known is the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* which Minhaju-s Siraj compiled, commencing with Sultan Mu'izzud din Ghori, and concluding with Nasiru-d din bin Shamsu-d din : from thence to the time of Sultan Firoz is written in the history of Zia-i Barni ; but from that time to to-day, because for the greater portion of the time there was much disturbance in India, and the people had the misfortune to be deprived of a powerful Imperial government, I have only met with a few detached and incomplete compilations. I have not heard of a single history that comprises an account of the whole of India ; and now since the whole of the inlying and outlying provinces of Hindustan have been conquered by the world-subduing sword of God's vicegerent, and all the fractions of the earth have been united in one grand whole, and many kingdoms beyond the confines of Hindustan, which none of the great sovereigns who preceded His Majesty had ever acquired, have been included in his Empire, and it is to be hoped that the seven climes will yet come under the shade of the standard of the good fortune of that illustrious personage, and thus be protected and secure peace and prosperity. I conceived the idea of compiling, in a simple style, a history which should embrace an account of all the kingdoms of Hindustan, from the times of Subuktigin, 367 A.H. (which is the date of the introduction of *Islam* into Hindustan), up to 1001 A.H. or the thirty-seventh year of the Illahi era, dividing it into chapters, according to the several dynasties which reigned, closing each chapter with an account of the conquest by His Imperial Highness of the particular province under notice. This abridgment of all the victories of His Imperial Highness will be given in the proper place ; the account of these victories in full detail being found in the *Akbar-nama*, which *'Allami* Abu-l Fazal has compiled with so much ability."[7] He quotes twenty-nine different works as his standard authorities, and in the instance of the *Tarikh-i Mubarak-Shahi* he copied his original very closely. Though he states in his Preface, as above, that he brings down

[7] *Col. Less, Journ, Roy, As, Soc, vol. iii.* (N.S.) *p. 450.*

the history to the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's region (A.H. 1001), in the body of the work he records the events of another year, and expresses a hope that he may live to carry on the work to a later period.

Nizamu-d din was a good Musulman, and no allusion is made in his pages to Akbar's wanderings from the fold. But with the information derivable from other sources a tolerably accurate inference may be drawn from the gradual diminution and eventual cessation of the records of Akbar's pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints.

Sir H. Elliot adopted the Table of Contents given by Stewart in his Catalogue of Tipu Sultan's Library, although he found that it contained both more and less than he had seen in other copies. The following table is borrowed from Morley, who had the advantage of several MSS. to compare. It agrees, as he says, with the author's own account of the contents in his introduction, and the only difference found is in the order of sequence of the books.

CONTENTS

Introduction—History of the Ghaznivides from the time of Subuktigin to that of Khusru Malik bin Khusru Shah, King of Lahore, who was conquered by Shahabu-d din Muhammad Ghori in A.H. 583 (A.D. 1187), and was subsequently put to death by his order.

Book I.—History of the Kings of Delhi from the time of Shahabu-d din Muhammad Ghori; comprising: The History of Kutubu-d din Aibak; Taju-d din Yalduz; Nasiru-d din Kubacha; Bahau-d din Tughril; The first four Khilji Princes of Lakhnauti; Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh; Aram Shah and his successors at Delhi; The house of Tughlik; The Saiyids; The Afghan Kings of Delhi, from Bahlol Lodi to the defeat of Ibrahim, son of Sikandar Lodi, by Babar, in A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525); Babar; Humayun; Sher Shah (who expelled Humayun), and his successors to the extinction of the Afghan power at Delhi, and Akbar's

succession to the throne, continuing the history of Hindustan to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign, 1002 A.H. (A.D. 1593).

Book II.—A concise history of the Kings of the Dekhin, comprising : The Bahmani dynasty, from 'Alau-d din Hasan, who founded the monarchy in A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347), to its extinction in A.H. 935 (A.D. 1528) ; The Nizam-shahi Kings of the Bahri dynasty of Ahmadnagar, from the foundation of the monarchy to A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), when Burhan Nizam Shah was still reigning ; The 'Adil-shahi Kings of Bijapur, from the origin of the dynasty to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, was on the throne ; The Kutbu-l Mulkiya Kings of Golconda, from their origin to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when Muhammad Kuli Kutb Shah was regnant.

Book III.—The history of the Kings of Gujarat, from the beginning of A.H. 793 (A.D. 1390), to A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572), when that kingdom became a province of Akbar's empire.

Book IV.—The history of Malwa, from A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406), to its incorporation with the kingdom of Gujarat in A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530) ; and a continuation of the history to A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569), when Baz Bahadur submitted to Akbar after a reign of sixteen years.

Book V.—History of Bengal, from the time of Sultan Fakhru-d din in A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340) to A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), when Daud bin Sulaiman Kirani was defeated by Akbar's forces and slain, and Bengal was annexed to the empire of the Mughals.

Book VI.—The history of the Sharki dynasty of Jaunpur, from the commencement of A.H. 784 (A.D. 1382), the time of the accession of Khwaja Jahanu-sh Sharki, the first independent King of Jaunpur, to the extinction of the monarchy in A.H. 881 (A.D. 1476), when Sultan Hussain bin Muhamud Shah Sharki was defeated by Sikandar bin Bahlol, King of Delhi.

Book VII.—History of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir from A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315) to A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), that is, from the time of Shamsu-d din Shah Mihr to the period when Yusuf Shah agreed to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor.

Book VIII.—History of Sind, from A.H. 86 (A.D. 705), but more especially of the dynasties of the Jams and Arghuns, to the

submission of Mirza Jani Beg to Akbar, and the final annexation of the whole province to the Mughal Empire in A.H. 1101 (A.D. 1592).

Book IX.—The history of Multan, from the Muhammadan conquest under Muhammad Kasim, but more particularly of the independent monarchy established by Shaikh Yusuf in A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), to the time when the province was annexed to the Mughal empire.

Conclusion.—A concise statement, comprised in a few lines, of the area of Akbar's empire, the number of cities and villages therein, and of its revenue.

The compiler of the *Sahihu-l Akhbar* attributes another work on Indian History under the name of *Tarikh-i I'rich* to the author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari.*

The Extracts from this work which follow are of considerable length. The reigns of Humayun and Akbar have been translated by the Editor in full, and supply a complete translatiön of this the most important portion of the work.

The *Tabakat-i Akbari* is one of the commonest histories procurable in India, but (says Sir H. Elliot) I have met with no remarkably good copy. In the Bodleian Library it is the only work on Indian History noticed by Uri, except an imperfect one on the reigns of Humayun, Akbar, and Jhahangir.[8] There are several complete or partial copies in the Library of the East India Office.

The *Tabakat-i Akbari* ends with a promise, which does not appear to have been fulfilled. As several copies, procured from distant places, concur in this reading, and as the author continued almost till the day of his death the history of Akbar's reign, it seems probable that he never wrote the Conclusion which he promised in his Preface, as it is now comprised in ten lines. It gives merely the computed area, populousness, and revenue of

[8] *Uri, Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Orient Catal.—Codd. MSS. Pers. xli, lii, liv. The MS. called Tarikh-i Sher Shahi, No. 1581, E. I. O. Coll., is a portion of this Tabakat-i Akbari The passage with which it concludes just precedes that with which the Tabakat-i Akbari terminates. Morley's mention of the year 1002 as the date of its composition led to this idenfication.* See *Dorn's Hist. of Afghans, Pref. xii.* ...

Hindustan, respecting which the author observes : "Be it not concealed, that the country of Hindustan is comprised within four climates, and is now included in the dominions of the Emperor Akbar. Its length from the Hindu Koh, on the borders of Badakhshan, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *kos*, Its breadth from Kashmir to the hills of Barujh (Broach), which is on the borders of Surat and Gujarat, is 800 *kos* Ilahi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kamaun to the borders of the Dekhin, which amounts to 1000 Ilahi *kos*. The soil is well adapted for cultivation, and within each *kos* are several inhabited villages. At the present time, namely A.H. 1002, Hindustan contains 3200 towns, and upon each town there are dependent 200, 500, 1,000 or 1,500 villages.[9] The whole yields a revenue of 640 *krors* (640,00,00,000) *muradi tankas*.[10] Of the towns, 120 are large cities." He then finishes with these words : "As the particulars of the towns are not included in this summary, a detailed list of the towns shall be drawn up in alphabetical order."

EXTRACTS

HAZRAT KHAKAN-I SA'ID MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN SHAH, SON OF BABAR SHAH GAZI[11]

When the Emperor Babar departed from this fleeting world at Agra for his everlasting abode in Paradise, Muhammad Mukim Harawi, father of the author of this history, was one of the officials of his late Majesty, and had been promoted to the position of *diwan* of the household. Amir Nizamu-d din 'Ali Khalifa was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldy busi-

[9] *One MS. omits the 1500.*

[10] [*Thomas estimates the value of the tanka muradi, here quoted, at 20 to the silver tanka. The current tanka of account at this time was the Sikandari tanka of Sikandar bin Bahlol. So that the sum total here specified of* 640,00,00,000 ÷ 20 *amounts to* 32,00,00,000 *silver tankas or rupees* (*or* £ 32,000,000). *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, pp.* 336, 834, 388, *and Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p.* 7].

[11] *His full name was "Nasiru-d din Muhammad Humayun," but he is commonly called "Jannat Ashyani."*

ness, he had a dread and suspicion of the young Prince Humayun, and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not content with the accession of the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. Mahdi Khwaja was son-in-law of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mir Khalifa, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdi Khwaja. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs.

It happened that one day Mir Khalifa went to see Mahdi Khwaja, who was in his pavilion. Mir Khalifa and Muhammad Mukim, the father of the author, were the only persons present with the Khwaja. When the Mir had sat for a moment, his late Majesty, in the pangs of his disease, sent for him. After he had gone, Mahdi Khwaja continued standing in the pavilion, and the author's father remained standing with due respect behind him. The Mahdi was considered to be a man of suspicious temperament, and being unaware of my father's presence, when Mir Khalifa had gone, he stroked his beared, and said to himself, "Please God, I will flay thee!" As soon as he had said this, he perceived my father, and being greatly moved he took him by the ear, and said, "O Tajik, the red tongue uses its sharp point to no purpose." My father took leave and departed. He went with all haste to Mir Khalifa, and said, "Notwithstaning the existence of such intelligent princes as Muhammad Humayun Mirza and his brothers, you have shut your eyes against loyalty, and desire to transfer the sovereignty to another house; the end of all this will be this." He then told him what Mahdi Khawaja had said. Mir Khalifa instantly sent off to fetch Prince Humayun, and he sent an officer to Mahdi Khwaja with an order in His Majesty's name, directing him to retire to his house. The officers hastened to the Khwaja, who was just about to sit down to dinner, and without any ceremony sent him off to his house. Mir Khalifa then issued a proclamation that no one was to visit or hold communication with Mahdi Khwaja, and that he was not to attend the *darbar*.

On the death of the Emperor Babar, Prince Humayun, who arrived from Sambal, ascended the throne at Agra, with the support of Amir Nizamu-d din 'Ali Khalifa, on the 9th Jumada-l awwal, 937 H.[12] (29th January, 1530). The date of his accession is found in the words *Khairu-l muluk*. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and nobles were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which were held under the late sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and content. On the same day Mirza Hindal arrived from Badakhshan, and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do khazana*) of former kings, and the gold was divided by coffers (*kishti*), the date was found in the words *kisti-zar*.[13] The territories were then divided. Mirza Hindal received the district of Mewat[14] in *jagir* The Panjab, Kabul, and Kandahar were settled as the *jagir* of Mirza Kamran. Sambal was given to Mirza 'Askari,[15] Every one of the *amirs* also received an increase of his *jagir*.

After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty proceeded to Kalinjar, the *Raja* of which place expressed his fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[16] In those days Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, with the assistance of Baban Bayazid, and the Afghan nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpur and its dependencies. Humayun now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success, he returned victorious to Agra.[17] There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said

[12] *He was born on the 4th Zi-l kada, 916* H. *(6th February, 1511).—Akbar-nama, vol. i, p. 149.*

[13] *Badauni notices this, and says that coffers full of gold were distributed as gifts on the day of ascending the throne.*

[14] *Abu-l Fazl says "Alwar," which amounts to much the same thing.*

[15] *"and Badakhshan to Mirza Sulaiman."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 151.*

[16] *According to Badauni, he conquered (musakhkhar) Kalinjar. Vol. I., p. 344.*

[17] *"Leaving Sultan Junaid Birlas as governor of Jaunpur.,,—Akbar-nama, vol i., p. 152.*

that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer garments of gold brocade with gilt buttons.

At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza, son of Badi'u-z Zaman Mirza, son of Sultan Husain Mirza Baikra, who had originally come from Balkh to seek a refuge with his late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayana, and in the custody of Yadgar Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yadgar Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. About the same time Muhammad Sultan Mirza, with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion. His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance. This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarat and chastise Sultan Bahadur. He proceeded to Gwalior, and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting.

At this time Sultan Bahadur had marched with the forces of Gujarat and Malwa to beseige the fort of Chitor, and was carrying on war against Rana Sanka. He had sent Tatar Khan Lodi, one of his chief nobles and a very brave officer, to effect the conquest of the fort of Bayana and the dependent territory. Having reduced the fortress, he threatened Agra, whereupon the Emperor sent Prince Hindal against him. On learning the approach of the Prince, the greater part of Tatar Khan's forces deserted him and dispersed. With 300 men who remained he advanced against the Prince, and made a fierce onslaught upon the Prince's own division, in which he and every one of his followers perished. Bayana and its dependencies then reverted to the possession of the Emperor. When Sultan Bahadur heard of this, he was greatly alarmed and confounded. The Emperor being determined to chastise still further his enemy, he marched

from Agra,[18] and at the same period Sultan Bahadur laid siege a second time to Chitor. (*Victory of Prince Kamran at Kandahar.*)

When Sultan Bahadur was informed of the march of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many of the officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khan, who was the chief of his nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musulmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him amongst Musulmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. When the Emperor had passed through Malwa, and had come to Sarangpur, he was informed of this; so he rested there. Sultan Bahadur carried on the siege of Chitor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoils among his soldiers. Then he turned his front towards the Imperial army.

When the Emperor heard this, he marched forward, and the two armies faced each other at Mandisor,[19] one of the dependencies of Malwa. The tents were hardly pitched, when Saiyid 'Ali Khan and Khurasan Khan, who commanded Sultan Bahadur's advanced guard, were defeated by the royal forces, and fell back upon their main body. The army of Gujarat was greatly dispirited, and the Sultan called a council of war. Sadar Khan advised giving battle on the morrow, as the troops were elated by the conquest of Chitor, and their eyes had not yet been seared by the sight of the Mughals. Rumi Khan,[20] who commanded the artillery, was adverse to a pitched battle, because the guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*) were of little use (in the field). They were very strong in artillery, and except

[18] *At the beginning of Jumada-l awwal, 941* H.*—Akbar-nama Vol. i., p. 159.*

[19] *On the banks of a large tank.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 160.*

[20] *A Turk of Constantinople: but the title was sometimes given to artillerymen who were not European Turks.*

the Emperor of Rum, no other potentate could equal them He therefore counselled the entrenching[21] of the army and the carrying on of warfare daily. If the Mughals advanced, they might be met with a discharge of the guns and rockets and a large number of them would be killed. Sultan Bahadur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.

For two months the two armies remained confronting each other. Frequently during the day brave men desirous of fame sallied out in search of adventures; but the Mughal soldiers seldom ventured within range of the guns and rockets. Then the Emperor posted his troops around the position of the enemy, to cut off his supplies of grain and fodder and fuel. These dispositions caused a famine to ensue in the enemy's camp. Grain was not to be procured, the grass all around was consumed, and the imperfectly armed Gujaratis, through fear of the arrows, dared not venture far from the camp. The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismouned. When Sultan Bahadur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of his pavilion and fled towards Mandu with five of his most trusty adherents, one of whom was governor of Burhanpur, and the other was Kadir Shah, governor of Malwa.[22] When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight. The date of this event is found in the words *Zill Bahadur*.

On the Emperor being informed of the flight of his enemy, he mounted and went off in pursuit. Having come up with Sadr Khan, who was retreating with a body of men towards Mandu, he made an attack upon him, thinking that it was Sultan Bahadur himself. He had not with him more than 3,000 men, for the rest were engaged in plundering. Many of the Gujaratis were slain. His Majesty hastened on to Mandu, and Sultan Bahadur was besieged in the fort. The siege was carried on for some days, till one night a party of the royal army scaled

[21] *Abul-Fazl says, "a barricade of carriages (hisar-i araba) with a ditch outside."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 161.*

[22] *See Akbar-nama.*

the walls and got into the fort. Sultan Bahadur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed, and the Gujaratis took to flight. Sultan Bahadur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarat, and Sadr Khan and Sultan 'Alam (Lodi) threw themselves into the fort of Sungar, which is the citadel of Mandu. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khan was place in confinement,[23] and an order was given for cutting off the foot of Sultan 'Alam.

Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Champanir,[24] and these he carried off with him to Ahmadabad. When the Emperor left Champanir and marched towrads Ahmadabad, Sultan Bahadur again took flight, and proceeded towards Kambayat (Kambay). The city of Ahmadabad fell into the hands of the Mughals, and being plundered yielded enormous spoil. The Emperor again started off with all speed in pursuit of Sultan Bahadur. When the latter reached Kambay, he hastily exchanged his tired horses for fresh ones, and hurried off to the port of (Diu).[25] The Emperor reached Kambay on the evening of the day in which the fugitive had quitted it.[26] Next day, a person[27] came forward in a friendly way and gave information that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were that night going to make a nocturnal attack upon the pursuers. The Emperor questioned him as to his motive for giving this information. He replied, that his son was prisoner in the hands of the victors, and he was in hopes, if the Emperor was successful, that he might obtain freedom for him. The

[23] *Such is the statement of one MS. not of the other. Abu-l Fazl says, on the contrary, he was received with great kindness. Sultan 'Alam had rebelled and deserted, so his foot was cut off and he was set at liberty. The fort was not surrendered without much negotiation and strong assurances of personal safety.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 164.*

[24] *He set fire to the town before leaving Champanir.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 164*

[25] *Having previously burnt a hundred war ghrabs.—Ib. 164.*

[26] *"and encamped on the shore of the sea." Ib. 165.*

[27] *An old woman, according to Abu-l Fazl.—Ib. 166.*

Emperor passed the night in the greatest watchfulness, and when it was near dawn, 5,000 or 6,000 footmen[28] made an attack upon the royal forces. The men were on the alert, and came out of their tents and assembled outside the camp. What was left in the camp was plundered. When the morning dawned, the Mughals fell upon the Gujaratis on all sides, and put many of them to the sword.[29]

Jam Firoz, formerly ruler of Tatta, having been defeated by the Arghuns, had fled to Gujarat. He had given his daughter to Sultan Bahadur. When the latter was defeated, the Jam fell a prisoner into the hands of the Emperor. On the night of this attack, his guards, fearing he might escape, put him to death. Sadr Khan Gujarati, who had surrendered himself at the fort of Sungar, was also put to death on this night.

Next day the Emperor marched towards Champanir, and invested the fort. Ikhtiyar Khan, the commandant of the fort, made preparations for resistance. One day the Emperor was going round the fort, when he spied a number of people who had come out of the jungle, and who, being frightened at the sight of him, fell back into the cover. He sent a party in pursuit, and captured several of them. It then appeared that, with the help of the (neighbouring) zamindars, they had conveyed grain and butter into the fort. In this place (where they had introduced the provisions) the fort was very high,[30] perpendicular, and dangerous. But His Majesty conceived that where provisions had been passed, he also might find an entrance. He carefully examined the place, and then returned to the camp.

It then occurred to him that the strength of this part of the fort was such, that the garrison probably felt quite secure about it, and took little care to guard it. He had a number of steel spikes prepared. In the day he attacked the fort on all sides,

[28] *"Bhils' and Gowars."—Akbar-nama. 167.*

[29] *This attack was made by Malik Ahmad Lad and Rukn Daud, two of Shah Bahadur's nobles, who had great influence among the Kolis and Gowars of Koliwara. Enraged at this attack, Humayun ordered Kambay to be plundered and fired—Ib. 166.*

[30] *"Sixty or seventy gaz in height."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 168.*

and at night he repaired with 600 men to this place. They drove the spikes right and left firmly into (the scarp of the rock), and by means of them climbed up into the fort. The garrison, being quite at ease about this part of the fort, did not observe their entrance. When thirty-nine persons, the last of whom was Bairam Khan, had gone up, His Majesty also resolutely ascended.[31] By daybreak 300 men had got in. There they found great stores of corn and butter, and other provisions, for the people of the fort. As soon as it was light, the besieging army advanced against the fort. The Emperor and his party then came down, shouting their battle-cry. On reaching the gate they opened it, and gave admission to the assailants. So this strong fortress was taken. Ikhtiyar Khan retreated into the citadel, which is called Muliya. Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.

Ikhtiyar Khan then came out of the citadel and surrendered. He held a high position among the Gujaratis, and was kindly received by the Emperor, who made him one of his personal attendants.[32] The treasures of the Kings of Gujarat, which had been accumulating for many years, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The gold was divided among the soldiers, so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rum and Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the Kings of Gujarat had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarat.

The agriculturists of the country sent a person with a message to Sultan Bahadur, to inform him that as several of the

[31] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 168 Or. Ed.) says that when thirty-nine had gone up, Humayun wanted to proceed, but Bairam Khan persuaded him to wait till the whole ascent was clear. Bairam Khan then went up, and Humayun followed, being the forty-first man.*

[32] *Ikhtiyar Khan was a descendant of the kazis of the town of Naryad, and was a man of great knowledge and experience. He had a high reputation as a statesman, and was an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was of some repute also as a poet.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 167. (Or. Ed.) Erskine, vol. ii., p. 65.*

districts were not occupied by the Mughal agents, they would themselves make the proper collections, if he would send an army to protect them. Accordingly, Sultan Bahadur sent one of his slaves, 'Imadu-l Mulk,[33] who was distinguished for courage and justice. 'Imadu-l Mulk set about collecting forces, and by the time he reached Ahmadabad many soldiers of the army and of the zamindars had gathered round him, to the number of about 50,000 horse and foot.[34] He encamped within sight of Ahmadabad and began to collect the revenue. When information of this was brought to the Emperor after the fall of Champanir, he made a second large distribution of gold out of the plunder of Gujarat among the soldiers. He then placed the fort of Champanir in charge of Tardi Beg, and marched towards Ahmadabad. The command of the vanguard was given to Mirza 'Askari, Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and Mir Hindu Beg, and they went on one day's march in advance. In the vicinity of Mahmudabad,[35] which is twelve *kos* from Ahmadabad, 'Imadu-l Mulk attacked Mirza 'Askari, and was defeated. Many men fell on both sides.

The author of this work heard from his father, who was then *wazir* of Mirza 'Askari, that at mid-day when it was intensely hot, the Gujaratis came hastily out of Ahmadabad. Mirza Yadgar Nasir had marched about half a *kos* on the right flank of Mirza Askari and Mirza Hindu Beg had encamped at the same distance on his left. The Gujaratis came on with such speed that the Mirza had no time to array his forces, so he retired with a party of his men into a thorn brake, where he stood fast. Heedless of this disposition of the Mirza's the Gujratis dispersed in search of plunder, and gathered a large booty. Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindu Beg came up in due order with their forces, and the Gujaratis took to flight. Mirza 'Askari now came forth from the thorn brake, and pursued the Gujaratis to Ahmadabad. More than 2,000 men were killed in the battle.

[33] *A Circassian.*

[34] *Mujahid Khan of Junagarh joined him with 12,000 horse.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 169. (Or. Ed.)*

[35] *"Between Naryad and Mahmudabad,"—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 171.*

After this the Emperor bestowed Ahmadabad and its dependencies upon Mirza 'Askari in *jagir*,[36] Nahrwala Patan upon Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Broach upon Mirza Hindu Beg.[37] Tardi Beg received Champanir, and Kasim Husain obtained Baroda. Khan-jahan Shirazi and other nobles also received grants.* The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhanpur, and from thence to Mandu.

After a time one of the nobles of Sultan Bahadur prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausari, which is near to Surat, and proceeded to collect forces. He took possession of Nausari, and having associated Rumi Khan[38] of Surat with Khan-jahan Shirazi, they marched against Broach.[39] Kasim Husain, being unable to withstand them, fled to Champanir. The Gujaratis then rose and carried on offensive movements on every side.

One night Mirza 'Askari in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue exclaimed, "I am a king and the shadow of God." Ghazanfar, who was one of his companions, and foster-brother of Kasim Khan, said in an undertone, "So thou art; but not for thyself". The convives smiled, and the Mirza having found out what they were laughing about, got angry, and threw Ghazanfar into prison. In a few days he made his escape,[40] and went and joined Sultan Bahadur, whom he incited to attack Ahmadabad, assuring him that he was acquainted with all the plans of the Mughals, who were anxious

[36] *None but Mirza 'Askari's men were allowed to enter the city.—Akbar-nama, 172.*

[37] *A large force was left under the command of Hindu Beg, with which he was to render assistance wherever it was required. Kasim Husain received Broach—Ib. 172.*

**See infra extract from Akbar-nama, "Return of Humayun".*

[38] *This was the common title given to Osmanli Turks, who were in high repute as engineers and gunners, but it was not confined exclusively to them. This Rumi Khan is not the same as the Rumi Khan Khudawand Khan who left Sultan Bahadur after his defeat at Mandu, and directed the siege of Chunar for Humayun. See infra.*

[39] *See Extract from Akbar-nama.*

[40] *With 300 horse.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 174.*

to retreat, and only wanted a pretext for so doing. He advised him to make the Mirza prisoner, and march against the Mughals; and he expressed his willingness to submit to punishment if they made any real resistance. Sultan Bahadur, with the assistance of the zamindars of Surath,[41] got together a force and marched against Ahmadabad.

Just at this period Amir Hindu Beg had counselled Mirza 'Askari to have the *khutba* recited and coin struck in his name, and to set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service Mirza 'Askari did not accept this advice. After much debate and deliberation, it was determined that Mirza 'Askari, Mirza Yadgar Nasir, Amir Hindu Beg and some other nobles should leave Ahmadabad, and form a camp in the rear of Asawal,[42] opposite Sarganj. Sultan Bahadur also came down to Sarganj and faced his enemies. By chance a cannon ball from the camp of the Mirza knocked down the tent of Sultan Bahadur. This greatly disturbed him, and he summoned Ghazanfar to his presence, intending to bring him to punishment. Ghazanfar asked that his punishment might be postponed until the Sultan had set his army in array, for he had heard that Mirza 'Askari intended to retreat during the night. When night came Mirza 'Askari, with the approval of the *amirs*, retreated towards Champanir, leaving everything superfluous behind them.[43] They halted at ten *kos* distance, and Sultan Bahadur pursued and came up with them. Mirza 'Askari and the *amirs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired.

When they reached Champanir, Tardi Beg[43] exhibited hostility towards them, and shutting himself up in the fort, sent a messenger to Humanyun, to inform him that Mirza 'Askari had hostile intentions and was about to march upon Agra and proclaim himself King. But before Mirza 'Askari retreated from

[41] *Surath is one of the divisions of Kattiwar, and must not be confouded with the town of Surat, though the names are no doubt identical.*
[42] *A suburb of Ahmadabad.*
[43] *See Extracts from the Akbar-nama, infra.*

Ahmadabad, the newswriters and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mir Hindu Beg had made to the Mirza for his assuming the crown, and althhough he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entertained hostile designs. The Emperor set off with all speed from Mandu to Agra, and was met upon the road[44] by Mirza 'Askari, who waited upon him, and told him the facts of the matter. Sultan Bahadur obtained possession of the fort of Champanir by the capitulation of Tardi Beg.

At the beginning of this year, Shah Tahmasp, in revenge of Sain Mirza marched to Kandahar, and Kalan Beg evacuated the fort and proceeded to Lahore. It is said that Kalan Beg had built for himself a Chinese house of great elegance,* and when he fled it was furnished with fine carpets and beautiful vases. This greatly pleased the Shah. Leaving Kandahar in charge of his nobles, the Shah proceeded to 'Irak. After this, Mirza Kamran marched from Lahore against Kandahar, and the Turkomans, being unable to resist him, evacuated the place and went to 'Irak. Kandahar thus once more fell into his hands.

The Emperor Humayun remained for a year at Agra and took his pleasure. When Sultan Bahadur was defeated he sent away Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Hind, in order that there might be no difficulty about him, and when Mirza Kamran marched against Kandahar, Zaman Mirza laid siege to Lahore, but upon hearing of the Emperor's return he went back again to Gujarat.[45]

Sher Khan Afghan, who had got possession of the provinces of Bihar and Jaunpur and the fort of Chunar, greatly increased his power and forces while the Emperor was engaged in Gujarat and Malwa. To curb his proceedings, the Emperor marched against him on the 14th Safar, 942 H. (12th August, 1535).

[44] *"Near Chitor".—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 176.*

**One built of enamelled tiles.*

[45] *According to Abu-l Fazl he went to Sind, but was stopped and turned aside by Shah Husain, son of Shah Beg Arghun. He then went and invested Lahore during Kamran's absence, but fled as soon as Kamran returned, and having no other resource he went back again to Gujarat.*

When he pitched his tents before the fort of Chunar,[46] Rumi Khan, who had quitted the service of Sultan Bahadur,[47] and had been received into that of the Emperor, undertook the reduction of the fortress. He received full authority to do whatever he deemed necessary for the capture of the place, and every assistance was to be given to him. Rumi Khan reconnoitred the fortress, and found that every part of the place which abutted on the land was exceedingly strong and quite impregnable. He therefore turned his attention to the river, and prepared a large vessel on which he began to build a scaffold.[48] When the structure was finished, he found that the vessel would not carry it, so he had two other vessels lashed one on each side of it. Still they were insufficient to convey the scaffold. The help of another vessel was obtained and the scaffold being now movable it was brought close to the fort, and the place was captured.[49] When the officers of the garrison saw that the place was no longer tenable, they made their escape at night in boats. Rumi Khan received many rewards.[50] The gunners of the fort were maimed by His Majesty's orders.[51] At this time, Sher Khan Afghan was carrying on war against the ruler of Bengal[52] who fled wounded before him, and sought refuge with the Emperor Humayun. The Emperor then marched against

[46] *Which was under the command of Kutb Khan, son of Sher Shah.*

[47] *After the defeat of Sultan Bahadur at Mandu.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 183.*

[48] *muqabil sar-kob. Abu-l Fazl calls the structure a sabat.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 183.*

[49] *ba yak bar muqabil kob ra biqal'a muttasil sakhteh maftuh gasht.*

[50] *He was appointed governor of the fortress, but died a few days afterwards, poisoned, as Abu-l Fazl says, out of envy at his promotion. Beg Mirak succeeded him as governor of Chunar.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 184.*

[51] *Abu-l Fazl says that 2,000 men surrendered and received quarter from Humayun, but that Muyid Beg, one of his attendants, caused their hands to be cut off, averring that it was by the Emperor's order, although he had really directed kind treatment. Our MSS. have the words ba-hukm, "by order", but perhaps, as Erskine suggests, it should be be-hukm, without the order.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 183.*

[52] *Saiyid Mahmud Shah. Abu-l Fazl calls him Nasib Saha, but he was dead.*

Bengal. Sher Khan then sent his sons,[53] Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan to secure Garhi, which was situated on the road to Bengal. This Garhi is a strong place.[54] On one side of it there is a high mountain and a large jungle quite insurmountable, and the river Ganges runs near to the other side. The place stands between Bihar and Bengal. The Emperor sent Jahangir Beg Mughal against Garhi.

Hindal Mirza accompanied the Emperor to Mungir, and afterwards he was sent towards Agra against Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Mirza, and Shah Mirza, who had fled from His Majesty, and were creating disturbances in the country. Muhammad Zaman Mirza, when he found that he met with no success in Gujarat, sent ambassadors to the Emperor at Agra suing for pardon.[55]

When Jahangir Beg arrived at Garhi, Jalal Khan,[56] son of Sher Khan, and Khawas Khan marched forth and defeated Jahangir Beg as he was descending (the defiles). Jahangir Beg was wounded, and returned to join the Emperor, who marched in person to the gates of Garhi. Unable to make further resistance, Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan fled. The Emperor then left Garhi, and continued his march into Bengal. Sher Khan was unable to resist him, so he went off by way of Jharkand[57] to Rohtas. The Emperor remained three months in Bengal[58] and changed the name of the city of Gaur to Jannatabad.

[53] *So in the original, but Khawas Khan was not Sher Khan's son.*

[54] *"The gate of Bengal."—Akbar-nama. It is the Teria garhi or Tiliagulley of the maps.*

[55] *This outbreak, according to Abu-l Fazl occurred before the march to Chunar, and Muhammad Zaman joined the Emperor while on his march thither.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 176.*

[56] *All three MSS. had "Jalal Khan," but in two of them "Kutb Khan" has been substituted.*

[57] *The Akbar-nama calls it "Chaharkand." It was at this time that Sher Khan got possession of Rohtas. According to Abu-l Fazl, "Raja Chintaman brahman was master (hakim) of the fortress." He accredits the doli story, and says that 600 dolis went in with two men in each.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 186.*

[58] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 186) says Humayun liked the climate of Bengal, and rested there in pleasure and dissipation, regardless of his army.*

In the year 943 (1536 A.D.), Mirza Hindal, finding opportunity at Agra,[59] was induced by turbulent advisers to set himself up in opposition to the Emperor.[60] He killed Shaikh Bahlol,[61] one of the great Shaikhs of the time, and learned in theology, to whom the Emperor was much attached. He was executed upon the pretence of his being in league with the Afghans, but in reality it was brought about by the leaders of the revolt in order to widen the breach between Mirza Hindal and the Emperor. The *khutba* was now read in the name of Hindal. When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahangir Beg in charge of Bengal, with a reinforcement of 5000 chosen men, and set off for Agra.

At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza, son of Badi'u-z Zaman Mirza, returned from Gujarat with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him, and did not utter a word of reproach. Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chaunsa. The *amirs* who had been left in Jaunpur and Chunar came to wait upon the Emperor. Sher Khan, having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.

When Mirza Kamran returned to Lahore from Kandahar, and heard of the rebellion of Mirza Hindal, of the difficulties of the Emperor, and of the growing strength of Sher Khan, he formed the design of securing Agra. Mirza Hindal proceeded

[59] *According to the Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 186) he had gone there without leave.*

[60] *His supporters said, "If you will cause the khutba to be read in your name, we will faithfully serve and support you; if not, we will go to Mirza Kamran, where we shall have our wishes gratified."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 187.*

[61] *Abu-l Fazl calls him "Shaikh Phul," and says he had been sent by Humayun express from Bengal to use his influence in inducing Hindal to desist from his rebellious designs.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 188.*

to Delhi, and there Fakhr 'Ali and Mirza Yadgar Nasir[62] shut themselves up in the fortress, and in spite of all his efforts, Hindal was unable to take the city. So when Mirza Kamran came near to Dehli, Mirza Hindal felt himself constrained to join him.[63] Fakhhr 'Ali came out on the top of the fortress, and seeing Mirza Kamran, he told him that Mirza Yadgar Nasir would not surrender Dehli, so the best thing he could do would be to go on to Agra, and if he obtained possession of that city, Dehli would be given up to him. Mirza Kamran consequently marched on towards Agra, and when he approached that city, Mirza Hindal separated from him, and went away in the direction of Alwar.

The news of Mirza Hindal's rebellion, and of the arrival of Mirza Kamran at Dehli, was brought to the Emperor at Chaunsa, and greatly increased his distress. Sher Khan now sent to the Emperor a *darwesh* named Shaikh Jalil, whom he called his *murshid*, to propose terms of peace. He offered to give up all the territory except Bengal, to swear upon the Holy Book that he would live in peace, and that the coin should be struck and the *khutba* read in the name of the Emperor. These proposals were received with the greatest satisfaction. But next morning Sher Khan fell upon the royal army unawares, and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.[64] Prior to the attack, the Afghans had taken possession of the bridge and had broken it. They also came out on the river in boats, and despatched with their spears every man of the royal army whom they found endeavouring to escape by water. Muhammad

[62] *On hearing of Hindal's proceedings, Mirza Yadgar Nasir had left Kalpi and hastened by way of Gwalior to Dehli, and prepared the city for a siege.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 189.*

[63] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 190) states, what is more likely, that on Kamran's reaching Sonpat, Hindal hastened back to Agra, from whence, on Kamran's approach, he retired to Alwar.*

[64] *As Humayun was mounting, he ordered Baba Jalair and Tardi Beg Kuch Beg to look to the safety of the Empress Haji Begam. They died fighting at the door of her tent. Mir Pahlawan Badakhshi and a number of others fell in the vain attempt to save her, and she fell a prisoner into the hands of the Afghans.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 193.*

Zaman Mirza was drowned. His Majesty rode his horse intc the water, and nearly perished ; but he was helped over the rivei by a water-carrier, and went off towards Agra.

Mirza Kamran had ere this arrived at Agra. Mirza Hinda was at Alwar in security. After the Emperor had crossed th river, he hastened on, accompanied by only a few horsemen[65] of whom the author's father was one, and arrived at Agra Mirza Kamran had received no intelligence before the Empero arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of hi brother, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers fille with tears. Hindal Mirza received forgiveness for his offences and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhamma Sultan Mirza and his sons, who had for a long time been engage in rebellion, also came in and joined them. Consultations wer held. Mirza Kamran was desirous of returning to Lahore, an showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to a his extraordinary propositions. Khwaja Kalan Beg exerted hin self to bring about the return of Mirza Kamran. The negotia tions went on for six months. Meanwhile Mirza Kamran ha been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persor had instilled into his mind the belief that his illness was th result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's direction So, ill as he was, he started for Lahore, having sent on Khwaj Kalan Beg in advance. He had promised to leave a considerab portion of his army to assist his brother at Agra ; but in spit of this promise he carried all off with him, excepting only 200 men whom he left at Agra under the command of Sikande Mirza Haidar Doghlat Kashmiri[66] who had accompanied Kan ran, remained with His Majesty, and was received into favou Kamran also took away with him many of the soldiers of Agra.

Sher Khan, emboldened by the dissensions between th brothers, advanced along the banks of the Ganges, and sent detachment over the river against Kalpi and Etawah. Kasim Hus

[65] *Mirza 'Askari also was with him.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 194.*

[66] *Mirza Haidar was averted, by the Emperor's remonstrances, fro going away with Kamran.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 197. See supra.*

sain Sultan Uzbek, along with Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Sikandar Sultan, fought against the Afghans in the neighbourhood of Kalpi. They killed a son of Sher Khan who was in command, and a great many men of his army, and they sent his head as an offering to Agra. The Emperor then marched against Sher Khan to the banks of the Ganges, and passed over the river at Kanauj. For one month he remained encamped in sight of the enemy. His army numbered 100,000 horsemen, while that of the Afghans did not exceed 50,000. At this conjuncture, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons again exhibited their perfidy, and without reason fled from the royal army. The detachment which Mirza Kamran had left as a reinforcement also went off to Lahore. So disaffection having become the fashion, many of the troops went off and scattered over various parts of Hindustan. The rainy season came on, and the place where the army was encamped being flooded with water, it was determined to move to higher ground. While this was being done Sher Khan came forth to fight. The battle was fought on the 10th Muharram of this year (947 H., 17th May 1540 A.D.). Many of the soldiers, being dispirited, fled without fighting. A few only of of the bravest went into the fight, and the day being lost, the whole army fled. Humayun became separated from his horse in the Ganges, and was helped out of the water by Shamsu-d din Muhammad Ghaznivi, who afterwards, in the reign of Akbar, received the title of Khan-i a'zam. When Sher Khan heard of his escape, he was sorry, and exclaimed, "I was in hopes he had perished, but he has got off."[67] The Emperor fled to Agra; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay, but went to Lahore. At the beginning of Rabi'u-l awwal all the Chaghatai Sultans and *amirs* were assembled in Lahore; but Mirza Muhammad Sultan and his sons, who had come to Lahore, fled from thence to Multan. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir found it expedient to go towards Bakar and Tatta,[68] and Mirza Kamran determined to go to Kabul as soon as the party was broken up.

[67] *See supra.*

[68] *One copy has "Nagarkot."*

It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and his *amirs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent. Mirza Haidar Beg, after much consultation,[69] had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kashmir, and Khwaja Kalan Beg was ordered to follow him. When the Mirza had reached Naushahr and Kalan Beg had got as far Sialkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Khan had crossed the river (Biyah) at Sultanpur, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lahore. Mirza Kamran,[70] after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra. When Khwaja Kalan Beg heard (of this retreat), he marched rapidly from Sialkot, and joined the camp of Humayun. When Mirza Haider reached Kashmir, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and and through them Kashmir fell into his hands, without striking a stroke. On the 22nd Rajab he became sovereign of Kashmir, in the city of Nau-shahr, as is related in the *Tabakat-i Kashmir*.

At Bahra, Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari parted from Humayun, and went off, accompanied by Khwaja Kalan Beg, to Kabul. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir still remainded with him, but after a few stages they disagreed. For twenty days they absented themselves, but falling into difficulties, on the advice of Mir Abu-l Baka, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. Bakhshui Langah then brought in several boats laden with corn, and was very favourably received. The army then crossed the river, and went onwards to Bakhar, but made a halt

[69] *His advice was that the princes should occupy and fortify the hills between Sirhind and Sarang, while he subdued Kashmir, which he felt certain of effecting in the course of two months.—Akbar-nama, vol. i, p. 205.*

[70] *Abu-l Fazl asserts that he sent an envoy to Sher Khan, offering to support him, on condition of being confirmed in the government of the Panjab.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 205.*

at the town of Luhari (Lohri). Mirza 'Askari then crossed the Sind, and went to the town of Patar, because the wants of an army were easily supplied there. From Luhari, which is near Bakhar,[71] to Patar, the distance is fifty *kos*. Mir Tahir Sadr was sent as ambassador to Shah Husain Arghun, ruler of Tatta; and Samandar Beg, one of the courtiers of the Emperor, was sent with him in charge of a horse and a robe. The gist of the message which they conveyed was, that the Emperor had been compelled to come to Tatta, and his object was to attempt the recovery of Gujarat. The Shah was invited to come and wait upon the Emperor, and consult with him about the conquest of Gujarat. Shah Husain Arghun temporized for six months by complimentary messages, and said that there could be no good in staying near Bakhar, but if the camp were nearer Tatta it would be more convenient, for five or six months might be lost while they were negotiating. If the Emperor would come nearer, whatever seemed advisable should be done.[72] Grain becoming scarce in Bakhar, the Emperor marched off to Patar, where Mirza Hindal was staying, for he had heard that Mirza Hindal intended to go to Kandahar. It was on one occasion in this year, while the Emperor was staying in the camp of Mirza Hindal, that he married *Maryam-i Makani* Hamida Banu Begum, the mother of the Emperor Akbar, and spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindal. The Emperor now forbade him to go to Kandahar, and directed him to return to Luhari.

Karacha Khan, who was governor of Kandahar, wrote letters to Mirza Hindal, inviting him to Kandahar, and the Mirza started off and went thither. When Humayun was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers. Mirza Yadgjar Nasir had pitched his camp about two miles below the royal camp, and the river ran between the two

[71] *Lohiri or Rori is on the east bank of the Indus opposite to Bakhar.*

[72] *Shah Husain proposed that Humayun should take possession of the country of Chachkan, between Tatta and the Ran, as a means of furthering his views on Gujarat. In this he promised to support him.—Akbar-name, vol. i., p. 210. See vol. I. (Or. Ed.), p. 316.*

camps. He also now expressed his intention of going to Kandahar. On the Emperor being informed of this, he sent Mir Abu-l Baka to reassure the Mirza, and to forbid his going to Kandahar.[73] As he was crossing the river on his return, a party came out of the fort of Bakhar, and assailed his boat with a shower of arrows. One of them pierced the Mir, and he died. The Emperor showed great sorrow for his loss. The date of his death, 948 H., is found in the words *Ṡurur-i kainat*.

After this Mirza Yadgar Nasir crossed the river, and paid a visit to the royal camp. After much consultation it was resolved that the Mirza should be left at Bakhar, and that His Majesty should march on to effect the conquest of Tatta. But the Mirza did not show any signs of concord and friendliness. When the Emperor marched for Tatta,[74] a large body of soldiers parted from him and stayed at Bakhar. Mirza Yadgar Nasir remained at Bakhar, and increased his forces, because during that year no[75] heavenly or terrestrial evil had befallen the agriculture of Bakhar. His Majesty now proceeded by means of boats to the fort of Shiwan.[76] A party of soldiers on board of the boats, as they came near to the fort, landed and attacked a body of men who had come out of the fort, and drove them in again.

The victors returned, and represented that the reduction of the fortress was an easy matter, so His Majesty crossed over the river, and invested the place.[77] But before his arrival, a party of Shah Husain's officers had entered it, and had done their best to increase its strength. When Shah Husain heard that it had been invested, he proceeded by boats to the vicinity of the

[73] *An agreement was made with the Mirza that he was to have one-third of Hindustan when it was recovered, as also Ghazni, Charkh, and Lohgar, which Babar had given to the Mirza's mother.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 212.*

[74] *On the 1st Jumada-l akhir.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 213.*

[75] *Two MSS. omit the negative, and so are in accord with Erskine (vol. ii., p. 226); but it seems to be required by the sense and the previous "because" (chi).*

[76] *Written "Siyahwan," and "Siyahan."*

[77] *He reached Sihwan on the 17th Rajab.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 213.*

Emperor's camp, and employed himself in cutting off the supply of grain. Great scarcity followed, and many men lived (entirely) upon the flesh of animals. The siege went on for nearly seven months, and the place was not captured, so a messenger was sent to Mirza Yadgar Nasir at Bakhar, to tell him that the fall of the fort depended upon his approach; for if the besiegers marched to attack Shah Husain, the garrison would be free to gather in provisions, and so protract the defence. Want of salt and scarcity of grain would prevent the royal forces remaining under the fort much longer; but if Mirza Yadgar would attack Shah Husain, the latter would be unable to maintain his position. Mirza Yadgar sent a portion of his force, but no advantage was gained through this reinforcement. Again a messenger was sent to call Mirza Yadgar, and 'Abdu-l Ghafur, who was *Mir-i mal* of the Emperor, received the commission. 'Abdu-l Ghafur went to Mirza Yadgar, and spoke about the perilous condition of the royal army, but the Mirza and his officers deemed it advisable to remain where they were and effect the conquest of Bakhar.

Shah Husain had sent representatives to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and had drawn near to his camp. He promised that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Mirza, give him his daughter in marriage, and read the *khutba* in his name.[78] Delighted with these offers, the Mirza was hoodwinked by Shah Husain, and so placed himself in hostility to the Emperor. Having thus secured himself against Mirza Yadgar, and being aware of the distress and weakness of the army of Humayun, Shah Husain advanced closer to the royal camp, and captured the vessels (which were conveying provisions) for the army. Unable to continue the siege of Sihwan, the Emperor was compelled to retreat towards Bakhar.[79] When he approached near to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, he sent to him for boats in which to cross the river, and the Mirza, who was in league with the people of Tatta, sent to them, desiring them to come at night and carry off the

[78] *He represented that he was old and had no son, that he would give him his daughter, leave him his treasures, recognize him as successor, and help him to conquer Gujarat.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 214.*

[79] *He commenced his retreat on the 17th Zi-l ka'da, Ib. p. 215.*

boats. Next morning he artfully reported that the enemy had carried off the boats. The Emperor remained inactive some days for want of boats. At length, two zamindars of Bakhar waited upon him, and (under their guidance) some boats which had been sunk were raised. Humayun then crossed the river. When Mirza Yadgar Nasir learnt of the passage over, being greatly alarmed and ashamed, he, without waiting upon the Emperor, marched off hastily against Shah Husain; and the latter being quite unprepared, the Mirza fell upon a large force from Tatta which had disembarked, and killed and made many prisoners, and then returned. After this action, Shah Husain returned to Tatta, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir, repentant and ashamed, waited upon the Emperor and presented the heads of his enemies. Once more Humayun forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.

Shah Husain now wrote letters to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and again drew him over to his side. The Shah requested him to secure for him the two zamindars who had obtained the boats for the Emperor. These men, being informed of the demand, repaired to the camp of Humayun. Mirza Yadgar sent a messenger to Humayun, representing that he had some revenue matters relating to his *jagir* of Bakhar to settle with these two zamindars, and requested that they might be sent to him. The Emperor ordered that several persons should accompany the men, and bring them back again when the business was concluded. The instant Mirza Yadgar Nasir saw them, he took them forcibly from the Emperor's men, and sent them to Shah Husain. Thus he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.

The men of Humayun's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mirza Yadgar Nasir. Mun'im Khan[10] also, and his brother, had thoughts of running away. This intention was communicated to Humayun, and he ordered them into confinement. Mirza Yadgar Nasir, in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humayun,

[10] *He who became Khan-khanan in the reign of Akbar.*

and the latter, being informed of his movements, made ready for fighting. Hashim Beg, a person high in Mirza Yadgar's confidence, when he heard of his proceedings, restrained him, and nolens volens made him return. It now became evident to Humayun, that if he tarried longer his men would all desert to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and that the worst might be expected from the Mirza's baseness. In this extremity, he resolved upon marching to Mal Deo, one of the faithful zamindars of Hindustan, who at that time surpassed all the zamindars of Hindustan in power and in the number of his forces. This Mal Deo had sent letters to Bakhar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan.

Humayun accordingly marched[81] towards Mal Deo's country by way of Jesalmir. The ruler of Jesalmir[82] shamefully took an unmanly course. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march, but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humayun had a great many men wounded. He marched with all possible speed till he reached the country of Mal Deo. Then he sent on (Shamsu-d din Muhammad) Atka Khan to Mal Deo at Joudhpur, while he himself halted for a few days.

(Proceedings of Mirzas Hindal, Kamran, and 'Askari at Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul.)

Humayun remained on the borders of Mal Deo's territories awaiting the return of Atka Khan. When Mal Deo was informed of the Emperor's weakness, he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Khan. For Sher Khan had sent an ambassador to Mal Deo, holding out great expectations; and the latter, in the

[81] *He started on the 21st Muharram, 949, for Uch. Removing from thence on the 18th Rabiul-l awwal, he proceeded by Diwarawal, and Wasilpur to a place twelve kos from Bikanir, at which place he arrived on the 17th Rabi'u-l Akhir. Thence he proceeded to Pahludi, thirty kos from Joudhpur, and afterwards made three more forward marches to the tank of Juki.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 219.*

[82] *According to Abu-l Fazl his name was "Rai Lon Karan."—Ib. p. 219.*

extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humayun a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor, and its dependencies, had fallen into the power of Sher Khan, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Khan should be annoyed and send a large army to his territory against Humayun. To keep the Emperor in ignorance, Mal Deo detained the envoy Atka Khan, and did not give him permission to return. But Atka Khan contrived to ascertain what was passing through the mind of Mal Deo, and went off without any formal dismissal.

One of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Mal Deo, now wrote to the Emperor, informing him that Mal Deo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. Atka Khan also spoke in the strongest terms upon the matter. So Humanyun marched off at once to Amarkot. Two Hindus, who had come to act as spies upon him, fell into his hands, and were brought to his presence. They were questioned, and an order was given that one of them should suffer the punishment of death, with the object of arriving at the exact facts of the matter. The two prisoners broke loose, and snatching a knife and a dagger from two bystanders, they despatched seventeen living creatures, men, women ,and horses, before they were overpowered and slain. The Emperor's own horse was among the animals killed. As he had no other horse to ride, his equerries sought to obtain some horses and camels from Tardi Beg, but he disgraced himself by giving a refusal. Then the Emperor mounted a camel. Nadim Koka was walking on foot, while his mother was riding his horse ; but when he saw the Emperor seated on the camel, he made his mother dismount, presented the horse to the Emperor, and made her ride on the camel which he had used.

The road lay through a loose sand, and water was not procurable. The army toiled on with great difficulty, and every moment the news came of the approach of Mal Deo. The Emperor ordered Muni'im Khan, with a detachment, to march

cautiously and slowly in the rear, and if the enemy approached, to give him battle. When night came on, that detachment lost the way, and at daybreak the enemy's forces were in sight. Shaikh 'Ali Beg, Darwesh Koka, and some others were (in the rear), numbering in all twenty-two persons. Darwesh Beg, son of Baki Jalair, was one of the party. They proceeded against the enemy, who was emerging from a narrow defile. Shaikh 'Ali killed the commander of the enemy with his first arrow, and every arrow that his little band discharged wounded some prominent man of the enemy's army. Unable to endure this, the enemy turned, and his great army fled before such an insignificant troop. Many were killed in their flight, and many camels fell into the hands of victors. When the intelligence of the victory reached the Emperor, he hastened to publicly express his thanks.

The army encamped by a well which contained a little water, and the party which had lost its way during the night now came in, which was another cause of rejoicing. Next day the march was resumed, and for three days no water was found. On the fourth they reached a well: a drum was beaten when the bucket reached the surface of the earth, to give the bullock driver notice to stop;[83] for the well was so deep that a call would not reach him. In the intensity of their thirst, some men could not restrain themselves. Four or five threw themselves upon the bucket, the rope broke, and the bucket fell back into the well. Overcome with suffering, they uttered cries and lamentations, and some cast themselves intentionally into the well. In this way many perished through thirst. Next day the march was resumed, and at the hottest time they reached a river (*ab*). The horses and camels had not tasted water for several days, and now they drank so much that many of them died.

At length, with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Tatta. The *rana*, that is to say the ruler

[83] *The bucket was drawn up by a bullock by means of a rope passing over a wheel at the top of the well, and the rope was so long that a drum was required to make the bullock driver hear.*

(*hakim*) of Amarkot[84] was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury he distributed among his soldiers. He had arrived here with no great force, so he levied a sum of money from Tardi Beg and others as a benevolence, and graciously presented the *rana* and his sons with gold and girdles and daggers. Shah Husain Arghun had slain the father of the *rana*, and so the *rana* now collected a considerable number of men from his territories, and went with the Emperor in the direction of Bakhar. The Emperor's family, with their paraphernalia, under his orders remained at Amarkot. Khwaja Mu'azzam, brother of Maryam Makani, was left in charge of them.

Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time[85]. The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 949 (15th October, 1542). Tardi Beg Khan conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance, as will be narrated in the proper place, gave to the child the name of Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar.[86]

He then continued his march towards Bakhar, but he wrote very urgent letters as to the safety of the young prince. Upon reaching the *pargana* of Jun, he halted there for a while. He sent for his family and the suite of the prince, and then his eyes were gladdened by the sight of his son. The force which had been collected from the parts around dispersed while he remained at Jun; and his brave and intrepid officer, Shaikh 'Ali, fell in an action with the troops of Shah Husain Arghun, in one of the *parganas* of Tatta. His soldiers began to desert one by one from his camp. Munim Khan even went off. His Majesty, seeing that it is was not advisable to remain longer in this

[84] *"Rana Parsad by name."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 220.*
[85] *This passage is greatly compressed.*
[86] *He is already styled by anticipation "His Majesty the Emperor, King of Kings."*

country, determined upon going to Kandahar. At this time he was joined by Bairam Khan,[87] who had come from Gujarat. He now sent representatives to Shah Husain Arghun, asking for boats to enable him to cross the river, and the Shah, delighted with his determination, sent him thirty boats and 300 camels. His Majesty then crossed the river, and began his march to Kandahar.

Shah Husain sent a person to Mirza 'Askari and Mirza Kamran, to inform them of the Emperor's intention to march to Kandahar, and they wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner. The perfidious Mirza 'Askari, when His Majesty reached Shal and Mastan[88] marched rapidly from Kandahar, and sent forward Hawali[89] Uzbek to watch his move-

[87] *The celebrated Bairam Khan, who plays so conspicuous a part in this and the following reign, and to whom the recovery of India is in great measure attributable. Bairam Khan was a Turk of the Kara-Kuinlu branch. He was born in Badakhshan and studied at Balkh. At the age of sixteen he entered the army of Humayun, and fought in the disastrous battle of Kanauj. After the rout, he took refuge with Raja Mitr Sen at the town of Lakhnor, in Sambhal. Sher Shah demanded his surrender, and the Raja, afraid to refuse, sent the Khan to him. He was brought to Sher Shah when on his way to Malwa, and was received with such kindness and respect as showed the desire of Sher Shah to win him over. The Shah's overtures were not successful, and at Barhampur Bairam Khan effected his escape, accompanied by Abu-l Kasim, formerly Governor of Gwalior. They were encountered by a party of Sher Shah's adherents, when Abu-l Kasim, who was a man of very noble presence, was mistaken for Bairam and seized. Bairam then manfully came forward and declared himself. Abu-l Kasim, in brave devotion to his friend, exclaimed, "This is my servant, who would sacrifice himself for me, take your hands off him." So Bairam Khan escaped, and went to Sultan Mahmud in Gujarat, who also wished to retain him; but the Khan pressed his desire of going on the pilgrimage. Ostensibly with this view, he went to Surat, but passed over to Kathiawar, and joined Humayun as above related. Abu-l Kasim was carried prisoner to Sher Shah, who had not the magnanimity to appreciate his friendly devotion, and put him to death. According to Abu-l Fazl, Sher Shah spoke afterwards of his conversation with Bairam Khan and of the conviction which he then felt of being unable to gain him. Bairam Khan had some reputation as a poet, and Badauni quotes some of his writings.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 224—Tabakat-i Akbari.—See also Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, p. 315, and Erskine's Babar and Humayun, vol. ii., p. 258.*

[88] *Mastang.*

[89] *One MS. reads "Jawani." The Akbar-nama has "Jini," and Erskine, "Chupi."*

ments. This man had received kindness from the Emperor. He obtained a powerful horse from Mirza 'Askari, and betook himself to the Emperor's camp. When he arrived, he dismounted from his horse, and went to the tent of Bairam Khan, whom he informed of Mirza 'Askari's advance, and of his designs against the Emperor. Bairam Khan immediately proceeded to the Emperor, and standing at the back of the tent he told him of Mirza 'Askari's approach. "What is the worth of Kandahar and Kabul," said the Emperor, "tha I should strive with my faithless brothers?" Then he mounted his horse, and sent Khwaja-i Mu'azzam and Bairam Khan to bring up the Empress. They made all speed to do so, and conveyed her and the infant prince to the Emperor. There were very few horses in the Emperor's train, so Tardi Beg was asked for one. Again he gave a churlish refusal,[20] and would not himself accompany his master.

The Emperor determined to go to 'Irak, and started off thither, taking with him the Empress, and having only a few persons as escort. The young prince was only one year old, and the weather was very hot, so he was left behind. Mirza 'Askari soon afterwards reached the camp, when he was informed that the Emperor had gone safely off, leaving a party in charge of his camp. Next day, he, in his extreme insolence, entered the Emperor's audience hall, and Atka Khan delivered up to him the young prince. Under the orders of the Mirza, Tardi Beg was made prisoner, and officers were sent to search the tents and seize all the effects of the Emperor. Then he carried the prince off to Kandahar, and gave him into the charge of Sultan Begum, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness.

The Emperor was accompanied by twenty-two persons, among whom were Bairam Khan, Khwaja Mu'azzam, Baba Dost Bakhshi, Khwaja Ghazi, Haidar Muhammad Akhtar-begi, Mirza

[20] *As Erskine remarks, Tardi Beg seems to have been a rough old soldier, who kept his own men and cattle in order, and resented any attempt to make him liable for the faults and negligence of others.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 251.*

Kuli Beg, Shaikh Yusuf, Ibrahim Aishak-Akasi, and Hasan 'Ali Beg Aishak-akasi. They set off without even determining their route. When they had gone a little way, they fell in with three or four Biluchis, who directed them, and they arrived with great toil at the fort or Baba Haji. The Turks who were in the place gave them such provisions as they had. Khwaja Jalalu-d din, son of Mahmud, who had been sent by Mirza 'Askari to collect the revenues of this district, waited upon the Emperor, and presented him with horses, camels, mules, and such things as he possessed. Next day Haji Muhammad Koki, who had escaped from Mirza 'Askari, waited upon the Emperor. The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts no safe place for His Majesty, so he proceeded onwards towards Khurasan and 'Irak. Upon entering Sistan, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, governor of the province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with the greatest kindness. He remained some days in Sistan, and Ahmad Sultan showed him every kind of hospitality and attention, sending even his own women to wait upon the Empress as handmaids. Ahmad also presented to him all kinds of provisions and necessaries, and enrolled himself among the number of his slaves. All these His Majesty courteously accepted, and then presented them to him.

Upon holding a consultation, Ahmad Sultan advised His Majesty to proceed to 'Irak by way of Tabas Kilaki, because that way was the nearest, and he offered to accompany him on the road. His Majesty replied that he had heard great praise of the city of Hirat, and that it would be more pleasant for him to proceed by that route. So His Majesty started for 'Irak, attended by Ahamad Sultan. At that time Sultan Muhammad Mirza, eldest son of Shah Tahmasp, was governor of Hirat, and Muhammad Khan Sharfu-d din Ughli Taklu held the post of Atalik or tutor to the young prince. When they heard of the near approach of the Emperor, they sent 'Ali Sultan, who was one of the nobles of Taklu, to meet him and conduct him in with due honour. He joined His Majesty on the borders of the territory of Hirat, and brought him with all ceremony to the city. The prince, with his officers and attendants, then proceeded to wait upon him and pay their respects omitting nothing that could do him honour.

Muhammad Khan was admitted to the privilege of an introduction.

His Majesty, with his retinue, halted at Hirat. Muhammad Khan treated him with the greatest hospitailty, and His Majesty was highly pleased with his reception. He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting with Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Hirat are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshhed and Tus. Shah 'Ali, Sultan Istajlu, governor of Meshhed, also did all in his power to show honour and hospitality to His Majesty, and under the orders of Shah Tahamasp, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. Under the orders of the Shah, a large number of nobles and great men went forth to meet him, and the arrangement was made that, from Damaghan to the Shah's camp, one of these nobles was to have charge of the duties of hospitality in each march. Provisions were sent from the royal camp, and His Majesty was feasted at every stage until he reached Kazwin. The Shah's camp had been moved to Pulak-Surlik, and Bairam Khan was sent thither by His Majesty to wait on the Shah. He returned, bringing a letter congratulating His Majesty on his arrival. His Majesty continued his journey, and at every place he came to he received marks of attention from the people. At length he reached Pulak-Surlik, and had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, who entertained him and showed him every honour and distinction, worthy both of host and guest.

In the course of conversation, the Shah asked the Emperor what was the reason of his defeat, and he replied that it was the rivalry and faithlessness of his brothers. Bahram Mirza, the Shah's brother, was offended at this,[91] and treacherously advised the Shah to have the Emperor killed in the course of the night. But the Shah's sister Sultanam,[92] who was very highly esteemed

[91] *There is no meaning in the anecdote as here given. Shortly afterwards Bahram Mirza presented a bowl and ewer for the ablutions of the Shah, who turned towards Humayun and said, "This is the way you should have treated your brothers." Upon Humayun's assenting to this remark, Bahram's anger was kindled."—See Erskine, vol. ii., 290.*

[92] *Or Sultan Khanam.*

by her brother, and exercised great influence in all affairs of State, did all in her power to protect and help the Emperor. Kazi Jahan Kazwini, who was the Shah's *diwan*, and Hakim Nuru-d din Muhammad, who was his physician and was high in his favour and confidence, were not content to be at all wanting in goodwill towards the Emperor. The *hakim* both openly and privately lost no opportunity of forwarding the Emperor's interests. One day the Shah, in order to gratify the Emperor, went out with a party of nobles and grandees to hunt with bows and arrows. Bahram Mirza, who had an old quarrel with Abu-l Kasim Khulafa, under pretence of shooting at some animal, struck him in front with an arrow, and he died upon the spot.

Shah Tahmasp, having assented to the Emperor's wish to depart, provided all necessaries for his journey, and he appointed his son Shah Murad, then an infant at the breast, with a force of 10,000 men to protect him. Humayun expressed his intention of going to Tabriz and Ardabil, and the Shah wrote *farmans* to the governors of those places, directing them to show him every honour and attention. After travelling to those places, the Emperor turned towards Kandahar, and went to pay a visit to Meshhed the holy. He had brought the Kazilbash (Persian) prince with him, and Bidagh Khan, the prince's tutor, was commander of his army. When they reached the fort of Garmsir, they took possession of the Garmsir territories. On arriving at Kandahar, a large body of men sallied out of the fort and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The Kazilbash army then encamped within view of Kandahar. Five days afterwards the Emperor arrived, and it was then invested. The siege went on for three months, and there were daily engagements, in which many men on both sides were killed.

Bairam Khan now went to Kabul on an embassy to Kamran Mirza. He was encountered on his way by a party of Hazaras, and a fight ensued, but he overpowered them and went on to Kabul. There he had an audience of Mirza Kamran, and he also had interviews with Mirza Hindal, Mirza Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir who had arrived from Bakhar in a distressed condition. Mirza Kamran sent Mahd.

'Ali Khan-zada-i begam to Kandahar with Bairam Khan to settle terms of peace if possible. When they arrived at Kandahar, and waited on the Emperor, Mirza 'Askari was still intent upon fighting (and holding out).

The Persian forces were disheartened by the long duration of the siege, and had thoughts of returning. They had conceived that when Humayun approached Kandahar, the Chaghatai tribes would rally round him. But when a long time passed, and no one came to his succour, and the fact of Mirza Kamran's advance to the assistance of Mirza 'Askari became generally known, the Persians were greatly alarmed. By a happy turn of affairs Mirza Kamran fell back, and Mirza Hussain Khan and Fazail Beg, brother of Munim Khan, deserted him and joined the Emperor. The Turkomans were inspirited, and after a few days Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Beg Mirza, Kasim Husain Sultan, and Sher-afgan Beg came over. This greatly encouraged the Persians. Muyid Beg, who was a prisoner in the fort, managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope. His Majesty received him with great kindness. A party also under the command of Abu-l Hasan, nephew of Karracha Khan, and Munawwar Beg, son of Mir Beg, escaped from the fortress. Mirza 'Askari now lost heart, and proposed to surrender. The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms. He then called together the Persian commanders, and induced them to engage that for three days no one should molest the numerous Chaghatai families that were in the place. In consequence of this engagement, the garrison of the place came forth next day, with their wives and families. Mirza 'Askari also came out, and with shame waited on the Emperor, who uttered not a word of reproach. The Chaghatai chiefs, with their swords upon their necks and shrouds in their hands, were allowed to present themselves to the Emperor, and were pardoned.

It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahar was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory. Bidagh Khan (and) Mirza Murad, son of Shah Tahmasp, were conducted into the fort, and the place was sur-

rendered to them. Most of the Persian chiefs returned to 'Irak, and no one remained with Mirza Murad except Bidagh Khan, Abu-l Fath Sultan Afshar, and Sufi Wali Sultan Kadamu.

When winter came on, the Chaghatai people had no place of shelter, so the Emperor sent a person into Kandahar to Bidagh Khan, to represent the need which they had of some protection to rigours of the winter. But he, in his inhumanity, did not make that reply which the emergency required. So the Chaghatais were in great trouble. 'Abdu-lla Khan and Jamil Beg, who had come out of Kandahhar, now fled to Kabul. Mirza 'Askari also, having found an opportunity, made his escape and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes (*ulus*) now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahar must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the conquest of Kabul and Badakhshan. By a strange coincidence, it happened that Mirza Murad, son of Shah Tahmasp, died on that very day. So the enterprise was resolved upon, and a strong party was appointed to carry it out. Haji Muhammad Khan, (son of) Baba Kashka, went first of all to the gate of the fortress with two of his servants. The Turkomans, who suspected that the Emperor wanted to get possession of the place, had for some days past prevented the Chaghatais from entering the town. It happened that some camels laden with forage were going into the city, and seizing this opportunity, Haji Muhammad proceeded to the gate of the city. The guards assembled round the gate, and refused to let him enter. With great daring he drew his sword and attacked them, and they, unable to resist his onslaught, took refuge in flight. Another party now came up to support him. They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humayun mounted his horse, and went into the city. Bidagh Khan, greatly annoyed, went to the Emperor, took leave, and departed for 'Irak. The Chaghatais, to their great satisfaction, thus obtained possession of Kandahar.

After this, Humayun marched to effect the conquest of Kabul, and left Bairam Khan in charge of Kandahar. Mirza

Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindal, having devised a scheme together, deserted from Mirza Kamran. After being much harassed by the Hazara tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kabul. Jamil Beg, who was chief of the territories (through which the Emperor passed), also came in to offer his services. Mirza Kamran, who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting, but every night parties of men deserted his army, and joined Humayun. The Emperor then moved his camp, and advanced to a half *kos* distance from Kamran. That night many men left Kamran's army and deserted to the Emperor. Mirza Kamran, being alarmed, sent a party of Shaikhs to wait upon the Emperor and to ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him on condition of his coming in and making submission. Kamran did not accede to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kabul. All his forces came over to the Emperor. On the same night Kamran quitted Kabul, and fled by way of Bini Hisar to Ghazni. Being informed of his flight, the Emperor sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit. The Emperor then entered Kabul, and at night the citizens, in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young prince Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramzan, 953 H., when the prince was four years two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952;[93] but God knows the truth.

After this a person was sent to bring up the forces which were in Kandahar. Mirza Yadgar Nasir came to Kabul in attendance upon the Empress Maryam Makani Begam. Great feasts were then held, and the ceremony of circumcising the young prince was performed. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kabul. When Kamran reached

[93] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 293) makes the date "12th Ramazan, 952"*

Ghazni, he could not get admission into the city, so he went off into the Hazara. Mirza Ulugh Beg was sent to take the government of Zamin-dawar, and Kamran, finding it impossible to remain in that country, went to Bakhar, to Shah Husain Arghun, who gave him his daughter in marriage and assisted him.

In the following year Humayun marched to Badakshshan, for Mirza Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza, had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. It was therefore determined to invade Badakhashan. Mirza Yadgar Nasir had been engaged in hostile intrigues, and once more meditated flight. His intentions being made known to Humayun, an order was given for placing him in confinement, and a few days afterwards Muhammad Kasim, under the Emperor's orders put him to death.[94] The Emperor, passing over the heel of the Hindu-koh (Hindu-Kush), encamped at Shergiran.[95] Mirza Sulaiman assembled the forces of Badakhshan and gave battle, but he was defeated in the first action, and fled into the *kohistan* of Dur-dasht. The Emperor then proceeded to Talikan and Kisham[96] but he was taken ill, and from day to day he grew worse so that every one was in anxiety, and no one but his immediate attendants were sure of his being alive. There was consternation in the army, and Karracha Khan Mirza 'Askari in safe custody. The people of Badakhshan again commenced hostilities. After two months His Majesty recovered, and sent accounts of his convalescence to all parts. The disturbances thereupon subsided. The royal camp then moved to the neighbourhood of the fort of Zafar. Khwaja Mu'azzam, brother of the Empress Maryam Makani, killed at this time Khwaja Rashidi, who had come from 'Irak in the retinue (of the Emperor), and then fled to Kabul, where by command, he was placed in confinement.

[94] *Erskine (vol. ii., p. 327) says he was condemned after a regular trial, in which witnesses were examined and other evidence taken.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., pp. 298. 300.*

[95] *In one copy "Shahr-giran"—great city. Abu-l Fazl calls it "Tir-giran," one of the villages of Andarab.—Ib. p., 300.*

[96] *The version in the Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana here says, "The army moved with the intention of proceeding to the territory and the fort of Zafar and Kisham the Emperor fell sick."*

Mirza Kamran at Bakhar, when he was assured of Humayun's march to Badakhshan, assembled a force around him, and made a rapid march by Ghorband to Kabul. On his way he fell in with some merchants, from whom he obtained plenty of horses,[97] so that he supplied each of his men with a spare horse. When he reached Ghazni, a few individuals brought him into the fortress, and Zahid Beg, the governor of the place, being off his guard,[98] was put to death. Under the orders of the Mirza the roads to Kabul were guarded, so that intelligence might not be carried thither. He then marched rapidly on in full confidence to Kabul. Muhammad Kuli Tughai and Fazil Beg, and the force under their command in Kabul, were quite unprepared, when they were informed that Kamran had entered the city. Muhammad Khan was made prisoner while in his bath, and was instantly put to death. Upon entering the fort, Kamran captured Fazail Beg and Mihtar *vakil*, and he had their eyes put out. He appointed persons to guard the Emperor's ladies and the young prince.

Intelligence of the fall of Kabul reached the Emperor at Kila Zafar. The government of Badakhshan and Kunduz, which had been given to Mirza Hindal was transferred to Mirza Sulaiman, and Humayun then returned towards Kabul. Kamran meanwhile mustered all the forces he could. Sher-afgan, who was allied with him, and Sher 'Ali, one of his officers, advanced to Zuhak and Ghorband, and took possession of the roads. Humayun crossed the river in the valley of Zuhak, and drove before him Sher 'Ali, who resisted to the best of his power. Humayun then safely crossed the Shaki, but Sher 'Ali again annoyed his rear until he arrived at Dih-Afghanan (a suburb of Kabul). Next day Sher-afgan Beg sallied forth at the head of all Kamran's forces, and a great battle was fought in the lines of Yurtjalak. The leading forces of the Emperor were repulsed, but by the efforts of Mirza Hindal, Karracha Khan, and Haji Muhammad Khan, the enemy was eventually defeated. Sher-afgan Beg was taken prisoner, and when he was brought into the Emperor's

[97] *They were taken by force.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 308.*
[98] *According to Abu-l Fazl he was drunk.—Ib. p., 308.*

presence he was put to death, through the exertions of the nobles. Many of Kamran's men fell on this day, and those who escaped the sword fled into the fort. Sher 'Ali, a man of undaunted courage, sallied forth every day and kept up the fighting with all his vigour. On one occasion Sher 'Ali and Haji Muhammad Khan encountered each other, and the Haji was wounded.

Intelligence now came in that a caravan with a large number of horses had arrived at Charigaran,[99] and Kamran sent Sher 'Ali, with a considerable force, to bring these horses into the city. Humayun was aware of this movement, and drawing nearer to the city he completely closed all means of ingress and egress. When Sher 'Ali returned from his expedition, he could find no way of getting into the place. Kamran then sallied forth, and endeavoured to cut a way through for Sher 'Ali. But the besiegers were aware of a sally being intended, and when the forces came out they were received with a fire of guns and musketry and driven back. Baki Salih and Jalalu-d din Beg, two of Kamran's most trusted adherents, deserted from him and joined the Emperor. Sher 'Ali now gave up all hope of entering the city. Kamran, with dastardly feeling, ordered that His Highness the young prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Maham Anka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (*i.e.*, the garrison). So God Almighty preserved him. A part of the garrison made their way out and went off, all in one direction. Humayun sent men in pursuit, who killed many and made many prisoners. Kamran's spirits fell, and from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Mirza Sulaiman sent reinforcements from Badakhshan, Mirza Ulugh Beg came from Kandahar, and Kasim Husain Sultan brought a body of men of Sarm Tugha as a reinforcement from Kandahar.

Mirza Kamran now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his making personal submission. But he

[99] *At the entrance of the Ghoraband valley, north of Kabul.*

was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes were of opinion that the capture of Kamran would be adverse to their interests, so they sent a message informing him that Humayun would, in a day or two, assault the fort, and advising him to delay no longer in the place. Kamran, who was offended with Namus Beg and Karracha Khan Beg, killed three young children of Namus Beg in revenge, and had their bodies cast down from the walls of the city—a cruel deed, which excited the abhorrence of all men both inside and outside the city. He also fastened Sardar Beg, the son of Karracha Khan, upon the summit of the ramparts. Humayun exerted himself to console Karracha Khan; and the Khan went close to the fort, and with loud voice declared that if his son were killed, both Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari should be put to death when the city fell. Kamran now despaired on every point, so he caused a hole to be made through the wall, on Khwaja Khizr's side, and made his way out barefoot at the place indicated by the nobles (outside who were friendly to his escape). Humayun sent Haji Muhammad in pursuit, who nearly overtook him, and Kamran then called out in the Turki language, "I have killed your father Baba Kashaka." Haji Muhhammad was always ready for a quarrel, (but), when he heard this he returned. His Highness Prince Akbar now came to his father, and showed him all proper respect. Much charity was shown to the poor and needy.

After Kamran escaped, in a forlorn and destitute[100] condition, he reached the foot of the Kabul mountains, where he was met by a party of Hazaras, who plundered him of all he possessed. But one of the Hazaras recognized him, and informed the leader of the band, who conducted him to Zuhak and Bamian, where Sher 'Ali, his adherent still remained at the head of a small force. He remained there for a week, and nearly 150 horsemen joined him. Then he marched to Ghori, where Mirza Beg Birlas, the governor of Ghori, with a force of 150 horse and 1,000 foot, gave him a battle, and was defeated. The horses

[100] *Pareshan o be-saman. The context shows that this is not to be taken quite literally.*

and asses of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victor. Having gathered some strength, he went to Balkh, where he had a meeting with Pir Muhammad Khan, the ruler. Pir Muhammad followed his own inclination, and came to Badakhshan, to the assistance of Kamran. Ghori and Baka'an fell into the hands of Mirza Kamran, and many soldiers flocked to his standard. Pir Muhammad then returned to his own country. Kamran advanced against Sulaiman Mirza and Ibrahim Mirza, and, as they had no power to resist him, they went away from Talikan to Kolab. Kamran now established his authority over many parts of Badakhshan.

Karracha Khan, and some other nobles who had rendered good service in these days, now recommended some impossible steps to Humayun. One was the execution of Khwaja Ghazi, the *wazir*, and the appointment of Khwaja Kasim to succeed him. This proposition fell heavily on the heart of His Majesty, and he would not accede to their wishes. The noblemen then conspired together, and mounting their horses at breakfast-time, they drove off the royal flocks (*galah*), which were in Khwaja Riwaj, and went towards Badakhshan. After break of day and the assembling of the army, His Majesty mounted his horse, and went off in pursuit. The conspirators, by a forced march, reached Ghorband, and crossing the bridge they destroyed it behind them. The advanced guard of His Majesty came up with a party of them and inflicted chastisement. At night Humayun returned to Kabul, to make preparations for a march into Badakhshan. The conspirators went on to Kamran, leaving Tamar 'Ali in Panjshir, to collect and forward intelligence of Humayun's movements. His Majesty, having determined to go to Badakhshan, sent *farmans* to Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Ibrahim, and Mirza Hindal. Mirza Ibrahim avdanced by way of the fort of Parian[101] into Panjshir, and getting knowledge of Tamar Ali Shaghali, he went after him and killed him. He waited upon the Emperor in the Karabagh at Kabul.

[101] *In the Panjshir valley, north of Kabul. See vol. III., p. 401 (Or. Ed.)*

At this time Mirza Kamran sent Sher 'Ali, at his own request, to contend against Mirza Hindal, but he was taken prisoner by some of Hindal's men. Mirza Hindal then went to see the Emperor, and took Sher 'Ali a prisoner with him. The Emperor, in his generosity, pardoned Sher 'Ali, and made a grant to him of Ghori. Kamran, having left Karracha Khan and his Kabul confederates at Kisham, had himself gone to Talikan. His Majesty thereupon sent Mirza Hindal and Haji Muhammad Koki in advance to Kisham. Karracha Khan then sent to inform Kamran that Mirza Hindal was approaching with a small force, while Humayun was at a distance, and that if he hastened up he might defeat Hindal, and so make the war against Humayun an easier matter. Karracha returned to Kisham with all the speed he could. When he reached the river of Talikan, he encountered Mirza Hindal, just as he had crossed the river. At the first charge Hindal's troops were defeated and lost all their baggage.

His Majesty now came up with his army, and was delayed a little in seeking for a ford. After getting over the river, his advanced guard came up with Kamran's rear, and made Shaikham Khwaja Khizr and Isma'il Dudli prisoners, and brought them in to the Emperor. Mirza Khamran faced round to repulse this advanced guard; but as they approached each other, he described the standards of the Emperor, and knowing that he was unable to contend with him, he retreated to Talikan, leaving all his plunder and all his own baggage behind him. Next day Talikan was invested, and Mirza Sulaiman came in and joined Humayun. Kamran then sought assistance from the Uzbeks, and when he found that he had nothing to expect from them he was greatly cast down, and sent to beg the Emperor to allow him to go to Mecca. Humayun generously granted his request, on condition that he would send the rebellious nobles to the royal court. Kamran begged forgiveness for Manus Beg, but sent the other *amirs*, who came ashamed and downcast to the royal presence.[102] The Emperor, a second time, forgave their offences.

[102] *Karracha Khan was among them, and came with a sword hanging to his neck.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 335.*

Mirza Kamran proceeded out of the fort, and went to the distance of a *parasang;* but when he was no longer in apprehension of any harm from the superior power of Humayun, he was greatly ashamed, and turned back with the resolve of paying allegiance to him. As soon as His Majesty was informed of this he greatly rejoiced, and sent out the *mirzas*[103] to give him a ceremonial reception. When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kamran, who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days the country of Kolab[104] was given as an *ikta*, to Kamran.[105] Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim remained in Kisham. The royal camp then returned to Kabul, where it took up winter quarters, and an order was issued directing the officers to look after the equipment of the army.

At the end of the year Humayun left Kabul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and a person went to Kolab to summon Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari. When His Majesty reached Badakhshan, Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Hindal came to wait upon him, and at the instance of Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Ibrahim was left at Kisham. Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari once more showed their hostility, and did not come in to pay their homage. Humayun marched on to the fort of Aibak, and the *atalik*[106] of Pir Muhammad Khan, governor of Balkh, with several of his chief nobles, had to take refuge in the fort, which Humayun then invested. The Uzbeks being reduced to extremity surrendered at discretion.

In consequence of Kamran's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kabul while the Emperor was engaged at Balkh. Humayun declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had been

[103] *Hindal and 'Askari.*

[104] *"Khutlan, commonly known as Kolab."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 338. It lies between Darwaz and Shughnan beyond the Oxus.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 359. Burnes' Travels, vol. iii., p. 275.*

[105] *'Askari was allowed to go with him, and received the district of Karatigin in jagir.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 338.*

[106] *"Khwaja Mak" was the atalik.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 347.*

undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kamran remaining absent. When the army came near Balkh, and was about to take up a position, Shah Muhammad Sultan Uzbek, with three hundred horsemen, made his appearance. A force was sent against him, and a sharp fight followed. Kabuli, brother of Muhammad Kasim Khan Fauji, was killed in the conflict, and one of the chiefs of the Uzbeks was taken prisoner. Next day Pir Muhammad Khan came out of the city, (and was joined by) 'Abul-l 'Aziz Khan, son of 'Abid Khan, and Sultan of Hissar,[107] who had come to his assistance.

After mid-day the two armies came in contact, and the battle began. Humayun was fully accoutred, and with Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Hindal, and Haji Muhammad Sultan, defeated the vanguard of the enemy, and drove it back towards the city. Pir Muhammad Khan also and his men were repulsed and driven into Balkh. At sunset the Chaghatai troops, who had got near to the city, turned back. Many of the Chaghatai chiefs had their wives and families in Kabul, and were alarmed because Mirza Kamran had not joined the army. So the night before the day when Balkh would have fallen, they met together and conveyed their opinion to His Majesty that it was not advisable to pass over the river of Balkh, but rather to fall back towards Darra Gaz, and take up and secure a strong position; then, after a short time, the garrison of Balkh would surrender. They urged their views so strongly that Humayun retreated. Darra Gaz is on the road to Kabul, so friends and foes, being unaware of what had passed in the council, conceived the notion that a retreat to Kabul was intended. The Uzbeks were emboldened, and followed in pursuit. Mirza Sulaiman and Husain Kuli Sultan, the seal-bearer, who protected the rear, had an action with the van of the Uzbeks, and were defeated, and then the chiefs who were anxious to go to Kabul made off thither, each one taking the road that pleased him. All control was lost. About a thousand of the enemy came up. His Majesty, who fought in

[107] *One MS. reads "Salatin-i Hissar," the Sultans of Hissar.*

the conflict, inflicted a wound with his spear on one of the foremost of the enemy and unhorsed him ; and by the strength of his own arm he cut his way out of the confusion. Mirza Hindal, Tardi Beg, Muni'm Khan, and a party of other nobles saved themselves by fighting. Shah Bidagh Khan and Tolak Khan Kuchin performed deeds of great valour in this battle.

Humayun reached Kabul in safety, and remained there for the rest of the year. Mirza Kamran stayed at Kolab, and Chakar 'Ali Beg Kolabi, who was hostile to him, attacked Kolab with a large force. Kamran sent Mirza Askari against him, but 'Askari was defeated ; and on being sent a second time, he again returned unsuccessful. Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim now marched against Kamran from Kisham and Kunduz and he, not having sufficient forces to oppose them, retreated to Rostak. A body of Uzbeks fell upon him on the màrch and carried off a large part of his baggage. In this distressed state Kamran wished to proceed by way of Zohak and Bamian into the Hazara. When Humayun was informed of this, he sent a force to Zohak and Bamian to protect the country. Karracha Khan, Kasim Husain Sultan, and some other traitorous nobles, despatched a messenger to Kamran, advising him to take the road to Zohak, and promising to join him in the day of battle. When Mirza Kamran come in sight, Karracha Khan and his associates cast the dirt of ignominy on their heads and deserted Humayun. Being joined by these men, Kamran offered battle. Although Humayun's force was small, it met the attack bravely, and a desperate fight followed. Pir Muhammad Akhta and Ahmad, son of Mirza Kuli, were killed in this fight. His Majesty exerted himself greatly. He received a sword-cut on the top of his head and his horse was wounded ; but he kept his assailants off with his spear, and made his way out of the fight.[109] He then proceeded towards Zuhak and Bamian, and was joined by a party of fugitives, who had taken the same route.

Mirza Kamran now, once more, obtained possession of

[109] *See supra.*

Kabul. Humayun went with Haji Muhammad and a party of adherents towards Badakhshan. Shah Bidagh, Tolak Kuchin, and Majnun Kakshal, and a party of ten were sent out to reconnoitre in the direction of Kabul, but of the whole party, one only, Tolak Kuchin, returned to the Emperor. Astounded at the treachery of his followers, he went and encamped at Andarab. Here he was joined by Sulaiman Mirza Ibrahim Mirza, and Mirza Hindal, with their forces. After forty days Humayun marched towards Kabul. In the mountains he was met by Mirza Kamran, Karracha Khan, and the forces of Kabul.[110] The armies drew up against each other. Here Khwaja 'Abdu-s Samad Masur deserted Kamran and joined Humayun, who received him graciously. Kamran was defeated, and fled to the mountains of Mandrud.[111] The traitor, Karracha Khan, was taken prisoner, and was being conducted to Humayun, when Kambar 'Ali Bahari, whose brother had been put to death at Kandahar by order of the Khan, seized the opportunity and killed him. Mirza 'Askari fell into the hands of the Emperor's men in this battle.

The Emperor now returned to Kabul, and remained there for a year in peace. Again a body of soldiers, craving for action, went off and joined Kamran, and he collected round him a body of nearly 15,000 horse. Haji Muhammad Khan went off without leave to Ghaznin; so Humayun was compelled to march towards Lamghan and interrupt Kamran's proceedings. Then, in concert with the Afghans of Muhammad, the *khail* of Daudjai, and the chiefs of Lamghan, Kamran went off towards Sind. Humayun remained for a while in Lamghan hunting, and then returned to Kabul. Kamran, supported by the Afghans, again advanced, and once more Humayun marched out against him. Humayun sent to Bairam Khan, governor of Kandahar, directing him by some way or other to go to Ghaznin and secure Haji

[110] *Humayun tried to arrange matters peaceably, but his efforts were frustrated, chiefly by Karracha Khan's influence over Kamran.—Akbarnama, vol. i., p. 363. See Erskine, vol. ii., p. 391.*

[111] *"By the pass of Badbaj towards the Afghan country."—Erskine, vol. ii., p 395.*

Muhammad Khan. The Haji had sent to Mirza Kamran, advising him to come to Ghazni, and take possession of the country, for he was ready to show his obedience. Hereupon Kamran marched from Peshawar by way of Bangash and Gurdez towards Ghaznin, but before he could reach there Bairam Khan had entered the city, and Haji Muhammad was compelled to go to him. Bairam Khan and the Haji went together to Kabul, and Kamran, hearing of this on his march, retreated to Peshawar.

Humayun now returned from Lamghan to Kabul, but a few days before his arrival Haji Muhammad had made his escape and had gone off again to Ghaznin. Bairam Khan was again sent with some other nobles after him, and when he brought him back the Haji received forgiveness. Mirza 'Askari, under the orders of Khwaja Jalalu-d din Mahmud, had been carried to Badakhshan and placed under the charge of Mirza Sulaiman, who was to convey him to Balkh;[112] and Sulaiman accordingly sent him thither. In the course of this journey 'Askari's days came to an end in the country of Rum.

The Afghans kept Mirza Kamran among them, and busied themselves in raising forces, so Humayun was compelled to go out against them. In the course of this campaign Haji Muhammad Khan was executed with his brother, in punishment of his many offences. Supported by the Afghans, Mirza Kamran made a night attack on Humayun's camp, and Mirza Hindal was killed in the engagement. The date of his death is found in the words "*Shahadat ash ba talab shud.*" Kamran's attack failed, and he retreated. The family and attendants of Hindal were sent to Ghaznin with the young prince Akbar, and the territory of Ghaznin and its dependencies was assigned to them as an *ikta'*.

When Humayun continued his advance against the Afghans, they were unable to protect Kamran any longer, so being without resource he fled to Hindustan, and took refuge with (Sultan) Salim Shah Afghan. All his people and followers were harried,

[112] *This was equivalent to banishment. 'Askari died between Damascus and Mecca in H. 965 (A.D. 1558)—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 397.*

and Humayun then returned to Kabul. After the army had taken a few days' rest, it marched by way of Bangash and Gurdez against Hindustan. All the disaffected in these parts received chastisement. Humayun crossed the Indus between Dinkot and Nilab (5 Safar, 962 A.H. 29 Decr. 1554 A.D.).

Mirza Kamran, disgusted with the ungenerous treatment he received from Salim Shah *hakim* of Hindustan, had taken flight and escaped into the hills of Sialkot. From thence, by great energy, he had conveyed himself to Sultan Adam Ghakar. Thereupon Sultan Adam secured him, and wrote to inform Humayun. This overture was graciously received by Humayun, who sent Mun'im Khan to demand the captive. Sultan Adam surrendered Kamran, who was brought into Humayun's presence at Parhala. The Emperor, in his natural humanity, was ready to overlook the offences of Kamran, but the officers and the chiefs of the Chaghatai clans, who had suffered many things through Kamran's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humayun, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai clans and people depended on the destruction of Mirza Kamran, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humayun had no escape but by consenting that Kamran should be blinded. 'Ali Dost Barbegi, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna and Ghulam 'Ali *Shash-angusht* (the six-fingered), deprived Mirza Kamran of sight with a lancet.[113] The date of this event has been anticipated a little. Afterwards Mirza Kamran obtained permission to make the pilgrimage, and being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out. He arrived at Mecca, and there died.[114]

Humayun, having reached the foot of the fort of Rohtas, determined upon the conquest of Kashmir. It was represented to him that a *zamindar* named Birana had a place in the hills so strong that none of the Sultans had been able to subdue it, and that he might protect the road and prevent the passage into Kashmir, so that the conquest would be difficult. But Huma-

[113] *See supra.*

[114] *Four years after, in H. 964 (5th October, 1557 A.D.)—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 419.*

yun's judgment did not acquiesce in these objections, and he marched onwards. At this time the news arrived of the march of (Sultan) Salim Khan Afghan from Hindustan to the Panjab, and it caused great discontent in the army. When the time for departure arrived, those officers and *amirs* who were adverse to the Kashmir expedition went off all at once to Kabul. Upon the Emperor discovering that no one favoured the campaign in Kashmir, he returned towards Kabul. Crossing the Indus, he gave directions for rebuilding the fort of Bikram (Peshawar), and as his men laboured heartily in the work it was soon accomplished. Sikandar Khahn Uzbek was appointed governor of the fort. Upon Humayun's reaching Kabul, Prince Akbar set out for Ghaznin, and Khwaja Jalalu-d din Mahmud and a party of nobles proceeded thither in attendance upon him.

After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultan) Salim Khan, and of dissensions among the Afghans. Some designing persons had informed His Majesty that Bairam Khan entertained hostile intentions, so Humayun proceeded in force to Kandahar (which had been long held by Bairam Khan). The latter came forth to meet Humayun with due ceremony, and showed every mark of fealty and obedience. When Humayun returned he appointed Mun'im Khhan to Kandahar. But Mun'im Khan remonstrated, and said that an expedition to Hindustan was resolved upon, and if the chief men were offended and alienated, disaffection would arise in the army. After the conquest of Hindustan that course might be pursued which the necessities of the time might require. So the government of Kandahar was confirmed to Bairam Khan, and that of Zamindawar[115] to Bahadur Khan, brother of 'Ali Kuli Khan Sistani. The great camp then returned to Kabul, and the army was employed in preparing for the invasion of India.

One day when Humayun was riding about and hunting, he observed that as his mind was dwelling upon the invasion of India, he would ask the names of the first three persons he met, and would take them as auguries of the result. The first

115 *It was taken away from Tardi Beg.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 508.*

person they encountered, upon being asked, said, that his name was Daulat Khwaja. A little further on they met another villager, who said his name was Murad Khwaja. On this His Majesty observed how excellent it would be if the third person's name should prove to be Sa'adat Khwaja. At a short distance they met the third man, and his name really turned out to be Sa'adat Khwaja.[116] All the king's companions were greatly surprised and impressed with the result, and became sanguine of victory in Hindustan.[117]

In Zi-l hijja, 961 (November, 1553), the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Peshawar, Bairam Khan, according to orders, came up from Kandahar, and the royal standards passed over the river Indus. Bairam Khan, Khizr Khwaja Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, Iskandar Sultan, and some other nobles, went on in advance. Tatar Khan Kasi, the governor of Rohtas, although the fort had been strengthened, made no resistance and fled. But Adam Ghakar, although he owed service, did not join the army. Humayun continued his march towards Lahore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lahore,[118] without opposition, and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandar and Sirhind. The districts of the Panjab, Sirhind, and Hissar all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chagahtai forces.

A body of Afghans having assembled at Dipalpur, under the leadership of Shahbaz Khan and Nasir Khan Afghan, the Emperor sent Mir Abu-l Ma'ali and 'Ali Kuli Sistani[119] to disperse them. The Afghans were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

Sikandar Afghan, who held possession of Dehli, sent 30,000 men under Tatar Khan and Haibat Khan to attack the advanced forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatai forces concentrated

[116] *The three names signify prosperity, wish, success.*

[117] *This same story is told by Khondamir, who died twenty years before this time. See supra.*

[118] *2 Rabi'u-s sani, 962 H.; 23rd February, 1555 A.D.*

[119] *The "Khan-zaman" of Akbar's reign. The MS. calls him "Sistani" but it should be "Shaibani."*

at Jalandar, and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej. Towards the close of day the Afghans became aware of their transit, and marched forth to give battle. Notwithstanding the strength of the enemy, the Chaghatai chiefs determined to fight, and as the sun went down a great battle began. The Afghans began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghans being greatly annoyed by the fire (*atashi*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindustan are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy, in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer took to flight. A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lahore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjab, Sirhind, and Hissar Firozah were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Dehli also were in the hands of the Mughals.

On hearing of this defeat, (Sultan) Sikandar Afghan marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind, and there he entrenched and fortified his camp. The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind, and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humayun for reinforcements. He thereupon sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached the generals came forth to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who was four times more numerous than the Mughals. For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division, under Bairam Khan, Khan-Khanan, on the one side; and on the other a third division with Iskandar Khan, 'Abdu-lla

Khan Uzbek, Shahh Abu-l Ma'ali, 'Ali Kuli Khan, and Bahadur Khan. Then they attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghans, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultan) Sikandar fled. The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphahnt to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.[120]

Sikandar Khan Uzbek was then sent on to Dehli, and the royal camp was moved to Samana. A body of Afghans in Dehli made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbek entered and occupied the city. Mir Abu-l Ma'ali was sent to Lahore to keep in check (Sultan) Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwalik mountains. In the month of Ramzan the Emperor entered Dehli, and once more *khutba* was read and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindustan. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of a province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.

Abu-l Ma'ali, who had been sent to oppose (Sultan) Sikandar, treated the nobles who had been appointed to support him very unceremoniously, interfering with their territories and appropriating their treasure. So Sikandar daily grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khan in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atalik* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operations. Shah Abu-l Ma'ali was ordered to proceed to Hissar Firozah.

At this time a person named Kambar Diwana had collected round him a body of supporters in the Doab and Sambal and had taken and plundered Bayana. Unquiet and adventurous

[120] *Ahmad Yadgar, whose history of the reign of Humayun is generally copied verbatim from this work, here makes a slight variation which is given.*

men gathered about him from all quarters. 'Ali Kuli Khan Sistani was sent against him, upon which he shut himself up in the fortress of Badaun. In the course of a few days 'Ali Kuli Khan took the fort, captured Kambar Diwana, put him to death, and sent his head to the Emperor.

But now the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th Rabiu-l awwal[121] at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the roof of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending, the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked and the Emperor was taken up senseless and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers, but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Shaikh Juli was sent to the Panjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th Rabi-u-l awwal, 963 H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for Paradise. The date of his death is given in the line, "*Humayun Badshah az bam uftad.*" [122]

He reigned for more than twenty-five years, and he was fifty-one years old. His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of the time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mirza Kamran and the Chaghatai nobles, when they

[121] *The Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana gives the date 7 Zi-l hijja, 965 H.*

[122] *Abu-l Fazl observes that this makes the date one year less than it ought to be.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 442.*

were taken prisoners and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazu*) and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mir 'Abdu-l Hai, the *sadar* or chief judge, by the name of 'Abdal. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologized, and said that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him!

Shaikh Juli, who was sent off to the Panjab during His Majesty's illness, obtained an interview with Prince Akbar at Kalanor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness, and intelligence of his death soon after he arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khan, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd Rabi'u-s sani, he ascended the throne of empire at Kalanor.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD 'ADALI

Himun was a shopkeeper (*bakkal*) in the town of Rewari, in Mewat. He was afterwards superintendent of the markets and director-general of the army, but now he rose still higher, and came to be one of King 'Adali's chief advisers. . .

'Adali one day held a Court in the fort of Gwalior, and nobles of renown were present. A distribution of *jagirs* was being made and 'Adali made an order that the country of Kanauj, which was the *jagir* of Shah Muhammad Farmuli, should be taken from him and given to Sarmast Khan Sarbani. When this was announced, Sikandar Khan, son of Shah Muhammad, a young and daring man, cried out fiercely, "Things have come to pass that they are taking our *jagirs* away from us and are giving them to this set of Sarbani dog-sellers." His father, Shah Muhammad, was ill, but he forbade his son to utter such unseemly and harsh expressions. But the son retorted, "Sher Khan (Sher Shah) once put you in an iron cage and intended to take your life, but Salim Khan interceded for you and was the means

of delivering you from that peril. Now this Sur faction is determined upon ruining you, and you do not see it. These men will not leave you in peace, and why should we suffer this degradation?" Hereupon Sarmast Khan Sarbani, who was very tall and powerful man, placed his hand in a false coaxing way upon the shoulder of Sikandar, and said, "What does all this mean, my lad?" intending to make him prisoner. But Sikandar guessed his object, drew a dagger and inflicted such a wound upon the shoulder of Sarmast Khan that he fell dead at his feet. He then killed and wounded several others. In the midst of this scene 'Adali got up and ran into the women's apartments. Sikandar rushed after him, but 'Adali bolted the door on the inside, and with difficulty escaped. The nobles of 'Adali who were present drew their swords to prevent the escape of Sikandar who, raging like a maniac, cut down and killed and wounded wherever he went. This state of affairs went on for an hour or two (*yak do gari*), till Ibrahim Khan Sur, the husband of 'Adali's sister, drew his sword and wounded Sikandar. Others then fell upon him and despatched him. Daulat Khan Lohani killed Shah Muhammad Farmuli also with one blow of his sword.

On the very day of this tragedy it happened that as Muhammad Farmuli was going to wait upon 'Adali he met Taj Khan Kirani, brother of Sulaiman and 'Imad Kirani, as he was coming out of the fort of Gwalior, after having taken leave of the King. They both inquired as to each other's affairs, and Taj Khan said, "I am going to retire from this field of strife" (*m'arika*): "come with me, for here all things are changed." Muhammad Farmuli did not acquiesce, but went to pay his visit to 'Adali, when what we have seen happened.

[123] When Taj Khan fled from Gwalior, he formed designs against Bengal. 'Adali first sent a force after him, and then marched against him in person. The hostile forces met near

[123] *This and some other passages have been copied by the Tarikh i Daudi, and are given in vol. iv., pp. 506, 507 of the original edition of Elliot-Dawson's History of India. This original version of the Tabakat seems preferable.*

Chhatra-mau, forty *kos* from Agra and thirty from Kanauj, and Taj Khan was defeated. He fled to Chunar, and on his way he took possession of several local treasuries belonging to 'Adali, and enriched himself with their contents. He also seized a troop (*halka*) of elephants, one hundred in number, and went and joined his brothers 'Imad, Sulaiman, and Khwaja Ilyas, who held several districts on the banks of the Ganges and at Khawaspur Tanda. Open war began, and 'Adali led his army from Gwalior to the banks of the Ganges, and there fronted his adversary. One day Himun told 'Adali that if he would give him a troop (*halka*) of elephants, he would cross the river and take the courage out of the Kirani rebel. 'Adali complied with this request, and Himun defeated the rebels.

Ibrahim Khan, son of Ghazi Khan Sur, had married the sister of 'Adali, and was one of the cousins of Sher Khan (Sher Shah). His wife found out that 'Adali intended to put him in confinement, so he fled from Chunar, and went to his father Ghazi Khan, who held the government of Bayana and Hindun. 'Adali sent 'Isa Khan Niazi in pursuit of him, and a fight took place near Kalpi, in which 'Isa Khan was defeated. Ibrahim then proceeded to Dehli and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. Afterwards he took possession of Agra and of several districts. 'Adali, upon hearing of these conquests, marched against Ibrahim. On reaching the Jumna, Ibrahim Khan sent a person to 'Adali, promising that if 'Adali would send to him Rai Husain Jalwani, Bahadur Khan Sarwani, called A'zam Humayun, and some other great nobles, upon whose assurances of protection he could depend, he would come in and make his submission. These nobles were accordingly sent. But Ibrahim won them all over to his side, and then declared against 'Adali, who, having no hope of support, returned to Chunar. Ibrahim Khan now took the title of Ibrahim Shah, and assumed the insignia of royalty.

About this time also Ahmad Khan, another nephew of Sher Khan (Sher Shah), who was married to a second sister of 'Adali's, and was one of the territorial *amirs* of the Panjab, received the

support of Tatar Khan Kansi, Haibat Khan, and Nasib Khan, who were among the principal nobles of Salim Khan's (Shah's) time. Thus supported he assumed the title of "Sultan Sikandar," and led his forces against Ibrahim. The rival armies met at the village of Farra, ten *kos* from Agra. Sikandar's army did not exceed 10,000 horse, but Ibrahim had 70,000 horse and 200 persons to whom he had given velvet tents, banners, and kettle-drums. Sikandar offered peace, upon condition of receiving the government of the Panjab. But Ibrahim was proud of the great strength and preponderance of his army, so he rejected the peaceful overtures of Sikandar, and arrayed his army for battle. In the end Sikandar was victorious, and Ibrahim was compelled to fly to Sambal. Sikandar then became master of Agra and Dehli.

Intelligence now arrived that the Emperor Humayun had marched from Kabul to Hindustan, and had taken Lahore; so Sikandar gathered his forces and went towards that city. Ibrahim also collected a new army at Sambal, and went in the direction of Kalpi. 'Adali now sent Himun, the *bakkal*, who was his *wazir*, with a large army, and with 500 war-elephants and artillery, against Agra and Dehli. When Himun reached Kalpi, he resolved to dispose of Ibrahim first, and hastened to meet him. A great battle followed, in which Himun was victorious, and Ibrahim fled to his father at Bayana. Himun followed and invested Bayana which he besieged for three months.

Sikandar Khan, ruler of Bengal, now raised the standard of rebellion, and marched with the forces of that country against Jaunpur, Kalpi and Agra. 'Adali therefore summoned Himun, who accordingly raised the seige of Bayana. When he reached the village of Mandakar, six *kos* from Agra, Ibrahim came up and attacked his rear, but he was defeated and again fled to his father. From thence he went to the country of Bhath, and fought with the Raja Ram Chand, who made him prisoner. But the Raja showed him great honour, seated him upon the throne, and waited upon him as a servant. Here Ibrahim remained until a party of the tribe of Mianas,[124] who dwelt near Raisin, being

[124] *A tribe of Afghans.—Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 149.*

at enmity with Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa, invited Ibrahim to be their ruler. They drew out their forces against Baz Bahadur, and Ibrahim joined them. Durgavati the Rani of Garha marched from her own country to support him. But Baz Bahadur hearing of this, sent some persons to the Rani, and induced her to relinquish this design and return home. Upon this defection Ibrahim thought it inexpedient to tarry longer where he was, so he went to the country of Orissa, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Bengal. Here he remained until the year 975 (1567-8), when Sulaiman Kirani took possession of Orissa. Upon the faith of solemn promises he then came to see Sulaiman, who treacherously caused him to be slain.

The victorious Himun continued his march and joined 'Adali. They fought with Muhammad Khan Gauria at the village of Chappar-ghatta, fifteen *kos* from Agra, and Muhammad was killed. Thus victorious 'Adali went to Chunar, and sent Himun to Agra and Delhi to oppose the progress of Humayun. Sikandar Khan Uzbek,[125] Kiya Khan Gang,[126] and the other nobles who were in Agra, abandoned the city, and retreated before him towards Dehli. 'Isa Khan marched against Dehli, but being encountered and defeated by Tardi Beg Khan at Panipat, he was put to death by the Imperial officers. 'Adali was still at Chunar, when Khizr Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Gauria, caused the *khutba* to be struck under the title which he had assumed of Sultan Bahadur. To avenge his father, he made war upon 'Adali, and put him to death. Thus terminated the Afghan rule, and Hind came under the Imperial sway. 'Adali reigned for nearly three years.

[125] *Sikandar Khan was a descendant of the Uzbek kings, and was a prominent man in the reign of Akbar. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i, p. 365.*

[126] *Kiya Khan attained high rank in Akbar's reign, and appears frequently in the following pages. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 343.*

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JALALU-D DIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR [127]

Years of the Ihhahi ; or, Reign of Akbar.

1.	27 Rabi'u-l Akhir,	963	10 or 11 March,	1556
2.	9 Jumada-l awwal	964	„	1557
3.	20 „	965	„	1558
4.	2 Jumad-l akhir,	966	„	1559
5.	16 „	967	„	1960
6.	24 „	968	„	1561
7.	5 Rajab	969	„	1562
8.	15 „	970	„	1563
9.	27 „	971	„	1564
10.	8 Sha'ban	972	„	1565
11.	18 „	973	„	1566
12.	29 „	974	„	1567
13.	11 Ramazan,	975	„	1568
14.	22 „	976	„	1569
15.	2 Shawwal,	977	„	1570
16.	14 „	978	„	1571
17.	25 „	979	„	1572
18.	6 Zi-l ka'da,	980	„	1573
19.	17 „	981	„	1574
20.	27 „	982	„	1575
21.	9 Zi-l hijja,	983	„	1576
22.	20 „	984	„	1577
23.	2 Muharram,	986	„	1578
24.	12 „	987	„	1579
25.	24 „	988	„	1580
26.	5 Safar,	989	„	1581
27.	15 „	990	„	1582
28.	28 „	991	„	1583
29.	8 Rabi'u-l awwal,	992	„	1584
30.	19 „	993	„	1585
31.	29 „	994	„	1586
32.	11 Rabi'u-s sani,	995	„	1587

[127] *He is familiarly called Khalifatu-Mah.*

33. 22 Rabi'us sani	996	,,	1588
34. 4 Jumada-l awwal,	997	,,	1589
35. 14 ,,	998	,,	1590
36. 24 ,,	999	,,	1591
37. 5 Jumada-l akhir,	1000	,,	1592
38. 17 ,,	1001	,,	1593
39. 28 ,,	1002	,,	1594
40. 9 Rajab,	1003	,,	1595
41. 20 ,,	1004	,,	1596
42. 2 Shaban,	1005	,,	1597
43. 13 ,,	1006	,,	1598
44. 23 ,,	1007	,,	1599
45. 4 Ramazan,	1008	,,	1600
46. 15 ,,	1009	,,	1601
47. 26 ,,	1010	,,	1602
48. 6 Shawwal,	1011	,,	1603
49. 17 ,,	1012	,,	1604
50. 28 ,,	1013	,,	1605

Akbar died on the 13 Jumada-s sani, 1014 ; 13 Oct., 1605.*

(*This table, as far as the 46th year, has been drawn up from the *Akbar-nama* of Abu-l Fazl, which is the most accurate of the authorities and most consistent with itself, though it occasionally shows a slight error, as in the 5th year, which must have begun on the 13th, not the 16th of Jumada-l akhir. The *Tabakat* and Badauni go astray at the 22nd year, which began at the end of 894 and ended on the 1st day of 986 Hijra. The 14th year began on the 24th Ramazan. The 15th on the 3rd Shawwal. For date of Akbar's death see Blockmann's Ain-i Akbari, Vol. i., p. 212.)

Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, in his great work entitled *Akbar-nama*, has recorded fully and circumstantially all the events in the life of God's vicegerent, from the day of his birth till the present year, the thirty-eighth year of the Ilahi era, and the year 1002 of the Hijra (1593-4 A.D.). But this humble servant of the State, Nizamu-d din Ahmad *Mutasaddi*, having written a history

of all the kings who have raised the banner of sovereignty in Hindustan, it is indispensable that he should also write a history of all the incidents in the life of the Emperor. The greatness of the theme will probably imbue his mind with ability to perform his undertaking. The history of this great Emperor must be the prominent feature in all books, so that there is little need of the present work, but as I have felt it my duty to write a history of the Sultans of Hindustan, it seems right to crown my work with a relation of the auspicious reign of this great Emperor.

It will be remembered that in the history of the reign of the late Emperor Humayun our narrative had reached the point where Prince Akbar was sent to the Siwalik hills along with Bairam Khan Khan-khanan, to crush Sikandar Afghan. When he reached the *pargana* of Kalanor, one of the dependencies of Lahore, the sad intelligence of the death of the Emperor his father was brought to him, and plunged him in the deepest sorrow. Bairam Khan, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalanor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of Rabi'u-s sani,[128] 963 H., with all due state and ceremony and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindustan.

FIRST YEAR OF THE ILAHI

The *Ilahi* is a true solar year beginning with the *Nau-roz.*[129] The first year of this auspicious era corresponded with Monday, the 27th Rabi'u-l akhir, 963 H. (10th March, 1556 A.D.).

Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign was the rebellion of Shah Abu-l Ma'ali. This young man was a descendant of the Saiyids of Turmuz, and was remarkable both for his beauty and intelligence. The late king had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride so that presumptu-

[128] *The MSS. have "Rabi'u-l awwal;" but this is inconsistent with the date mentioned elsewhere supra, and is opposed to all the other authorities.*

[129] *The Persian solar months are used in this era.*

ous ideas got the mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions. The Khan-khanan arrested him and was about to execute him; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyids before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawan Kal-gaz *kotwal*, and sent him to Lahore. Abu-l Ma'ali escaped from custody,[130] and the *pahlawan*, in shame for his fault, committed suicide.

So long as Skandar Afghan was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their regular forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik mountains, and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.[131] Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles, and the Imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Raja Ram Chand,[132] Raja of Nagarkot, was the most renowned of all the rajas of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains, His Highness left these parts, and went to Jalandhar, where he stayed for five months.

Tardi Beg Khan, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humayun's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died, caused the *khutba* to be read in Dehli in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwaja Sultan Ali, *wazir* and *mir-munshi*, who was also *mir-i 'arz* and *mir-i mal*, kept under control the affairs of Dehli, and of Mewat and other *parganas*

[130] *He fled to the country of the Gakhars, and there collecting an army, he invaded Kashmir, but was defeated. Obliged to leave the Gakhar country, he went and hid at Dipalpur, but was discovered, and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayana.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 10.*

[131] *The Emperor went as far as Damhari, and Bairam Khan commanded. The war lasted three months.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 23, Badauni, vol. ii., p. 12.*

[132] *Abu-l Fazl and Firishta call him "Dharm Chand;" Badauni "Ram Chand".*

which had but lately been brought under royal authority. He sent Mirza Abu-l Kasim, son of Prince Kamran, along with the effects and establishments and war-elephants of the late Emperor, to his successor, the Emperor Akbar.

When Humayun marched to Hindustan, he consigned the government of Kabul and Ghazni to Mun'im Khan, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atalik*) of his son, Mirza Muhammad Hakim. He alo left there all his ladies. The city of Kandahar and its dependent territories were the *jagir* of Bairam Khan Khan-khanan. By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshan was consigned to Mirza Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza, son of Sultan Mahmud, son of Mirza Sultan Abu Said Gurgan. When the intelligence of the facts (of the death) of Humayun reached Mirza Sulaiman, ambitious designs took hold of him, and, with his son Mirza Ibrahim, he marched against Kabul, and laid siege to it. Mun'im Khan wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor. But before his despatch arrived, Akbar had sent Muhammad Kuli Birlas, and some other nobles, to Kabul to fetch the ladies who had been left there. When the news of the siege of Kabul arrived, an imperative *farman* was issued, directing these nobles to make all haste to Kabul, and to raise the siege. When these nobles passed the Nilab (Indus), Mirza Sulaiman saw that he could effect nothing by hostile means, so he employed as an intermediary Kazi Khan Badakhshi, who was one of his confidential nobles, and one of the holy men of the time, to inform Mun'im Khan that if his name were recited in the *khutba*, he would take his departure. Mun'im Khan knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirza Sulaiman should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zail i alkab*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mirza Sulaiman was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshan.

Soon after the accession of the Emperor, 'Ali Kuli Khan[133]

[133] *'Ali Kuli Khan was an Uzbek, and son of Haidar Sultan Shaibani, a staunch adherent of Humayun.*

received the title of *Khan-zaman* and marched towards Sambal to repress Shadi Khan Afghan, one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad 'Adali. When he reached the banks of the Rahab, he sent some of his men over the river with 2000 or 3000 horse to reconnoitre the enemy. This detachment crossed the river without care and circumspection, and Shadi Khan, perceiving his opportunity, suddenly fell upon them. Many of Khan-zaman's men were killed, and many were drowned in the river. When the Khan received intelligence of this he consulted with the nobles who were with him, such as........., upon the propriety of crossing the river to avenge this disaster. Just at this juncture, letters arrived from Tardi Beg Khan and other nobles who were in Dehli,[134] stating that Himun, the *vakil* of Muhammad Khan 'Adali, had approached Dehli with a large force and many elephants, intent upon battle, and that they should bring up their forces with all possible speed. Khan-zaman and all the faithful and prudent nobles marched off instantly towards Dehli; but before they arrived, Tardi Beg Khan had been defeated. This matter has been recorded among the incidents of the reign of Sultan 'Adali, and there is no need to repeat it here.

When Himun approached Agra, Sikandar Khan Uzbek, the governor of that city, was obliged to evacuate the place and join Tardi Beg Khan. 'Abdu-lla Uzbek, Lal Sultan Badakhshi, 'Ali Kuli Andarabi, Mirak Khan Kolabi, Haidar Muhammad Akhta-begi, and Mirza Kuli Beg Khan assembled. Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani also came to Tardi Beg on a mission from Bairam Khan. These all brought reinforcements with them. As Himun drew near to Dehli, the great nobles led their forces out of the city, and marshalled them in the field in sight of the enemy. Sikandar Khan and 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek and Lal Sultan Badakhshi, who were on the right wing, defeated the forces opposed to them. Then Himun, with a reserve which he had and some fierce elephants, made an attack upon the Mughals, and Tardi Beg Khan, being unable to repel this assault, was obliged to retreat. But although Himun had thus, by his tactics

[134] *Akbar had made him governor of Dehli.—Faizi Sirhindi.*

and artifice, prevailed over Tardi Beg Khan, he did not think of pursuing him. That portion of the enemy's army which had been defeated, finding themselves, to their surprise, unmolested, returned to the scene of action, and then learned that Tardi Beg Khan had been discomfited and put to flight. Himun then occupied Dehli, and Tardi Beg Khan and the other nobles proceeded to the Emperor. Khan-zaman joined them at the town of Sirhind.

The Emperor and his followers were engaged at Jalandhar in counteracting the efforts of Sultan Sikandar. When the intelligence of this disaster reached him, he appointed Khwaja Khizr Khan, who belonged to the lineage of the Mughal Sultans, and had married Gulbadan Begam, the aunt of the Emperor, to oppose Sultan Sikandar, while he himself marched to Dehli. Upon his reaching the town of Sirhind, the defeated nobles waited upon him. But Khan-khanan, who had the general direction of state affairs, had deemed it desirable to destroy Tardi Beg Khan. So he had summoned[135] him to his tent, and had caused him to be put to death.[136] He had also placed in confinement Khwaja Sultan 'Ali and the *Mir Munshi* and the *Khanjar-beg* of Tardi Khan. When the royal tents were pitched, 'Ali Kuli Khan and.........were sent forward with the advanced forces, and the Emperor followed to confront the enemy.

Himun had greatly vaunted his achievements at Dehli, and had taken himself the title of Raja Bikramajit.[137] He had

[135] *The word used is "talbid," but Abu-l Fazl says it was a friendly invitation.*

[136] *There had been a long-standing quarrel, aggravated by sectarian bitterness, between Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg. Badauni (ii. 14) says that Bairam Khan got a kind of permission from the Emperor to put Tardi Beg to death. Abu-l Fazl and Firishta, however, show that he had some difficulty in justifying the act. Firishta states that "he understood from the best informed men of the times that had Tardi Beg Khan not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mughal army and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shah would have been acted over again."—Briggs, vol. ii., p. 186.*

[137] *The MS. of the E. I. Lib., which often contains a word or two more than the other MSS. which have been used, here observes parenthetically, "This Bikramjit was a raja, who held dominion over the greater part of Hindustan, and the Hindus believe that one thousand six hundred years have passed since the time of his ascendancy."*

gathered under his command a mighty force, and had fifteen hundred[138] war-elephants. With these he hastened to meet the Imperial army. He had sent on his artillery[139] in advance, and a detachment of the Emperor's army, which had gone forward, fell in with the artillery at Panipat, and took it at the point of the sword. When Himun was informed of this disaster, he was much depressed, but he promised his officers an increase of their emoluments, and gave to each one an elephant on which to ride and exhibit his devotion. He himself mounted an elephant named *Hawa* (Wind), and went forth with scowling brow to meet his royal adversary.

On the morning of Friday (2nd) Muharram, 964 H. (5 November, 1556) the intelligence of his march was brought in from the advanced guard, and the generals marshalled their forces to receive the attack. Husain Kuli Beg and.........other brave officers fought bravely, and defeated their adversaries. Himun then advanced with his elephants, and made such a determined charge on the Imperial army that the left wing was shaken.[140] But by the exertions of the brave archers and by resolute use of spear and sword, firmness was restored. Himun then drew off his forces, and made an assault upon the centre, which was under the command of Khan-zaman. He led all his elephants against the Khan's men, who received him with showers of arrows. An arrow pierced the eye of Himun, and came out at the back of his head. When those who were fighting under him saw his condition, their hands were paralyzed, and they broke. The Imperial forces pursued them, and cut many to pieces.

[138] *Alfi augments the number to "nearly three thousand, a number that for many a long year had not been gathered together in India," and adds that more than a thousand were captured. Abu-l Fazl (ii. p. 50) and Badauni (ii., p. 16) say that 1500 were captured.*

[139] *"Which was obtained from Turkey : az mamalik-i Rum nishan mi-dad."—Faizi Sirhindi.*

[140] *According to Abu-l Fazl, Himun divided his army into three divisions. He himself commanded the centre, which was composed of 500 elephants and 20,000 Afghan and Rajput horse.*

The elephant on which Himun was riding, when Himun fell wounded in the *howda* and its driver was killed,[141] made off towards the jungle. It so happened that Shah Kuli Khan fell in with this elephant, and made his own driver mount it. The driver then perceived that there was a man lying wounded in the *howda,* and upon examination this person proved to be Himun himself. Shah Kuli Khan, fully alive to the importance of his discovery, drove the elephant, along with several others which had been captured in the field, to the presence of the Emperor. Bairam Khan Khan-khanan then put Himun to death with his own hand.[142]

Sikandar Khan Uzbek, according to orders, pursued the fugitives to Dehli and sent many of them to hell. Next day the army marched from Panipat, and without halting anywhere went straight to Dehli. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception, and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month. Intelligence was brought in that all the children and dependents of Himun, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewat ; so Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani was sent thither. He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the treasures and valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.[143]

141 *Abu-l Fazl states that Himun's own driver, in fear of his life, betrayed his master.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 49*

142 *Badauni, Abu-l Fazl and Faizi all state that Bairam Khan killed Himun after having failed, to induce the Emperor to do so. Bairam Khan said, according to Badauni, "This is your first war (ghaza), prove your sword on this infidel, for it will be a meritorious deed.' Akbar replied, 'He is now no better than a dead man, how can I strike him.? If he had sense and strength, I would try my sword.' Then, in the presence of them all, the Khan, as a warrior of the faith, cut him down with his sword." Himu's head was sent to Kabul, and his body to Dehli, to be exposed over the gates:—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 51 ; Badauni, vol. ii., p. 16 ; Tarikh-i Alfi ; Akbar-nama of Faizi-Sirhindi. See also supra.*

143 *Alfi adds that many Afghans were killed, and that Mewat was annexed to the Imperial dominions.*

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 9th Jumada-l awwal, 964 H. (10 March, 1557). Intelligence arrived that Khizr Khan Khwaja[144] had been defeated[145] by Sikandar Afghan; the Emperor therefore set out for Lahore, to oppose the victor. When he reached Jalandhar, Sikandar fell back to the Siwalik hills, and the royal forces pursued him to Disawa,[146] and from thence to Damhari. It now became obvious that Sikandar meant to retreat, and had no intention of fighting. A party of distinguished nobles was sent in pursuit, and by rapid marches came up to the camp of Sikandar. He then shut himself up in the fort of Mankot.[147] The Imperial army followed, and laid siege to the fort. Day by day the batteries were advanced, and the garrison was closely pressed.

At this time Her Highness Mariam Makani, mother of the Emperor, with other royal ladies, arrived in Hindustan from Kabul, to the great satisfaction of the Emperor. Muhammad Kuli Birlas, Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka, and the other great nobles who had been sent to assist Mun'im Khan at Kabul against Mirza Sulaiman, at the same time returned to Hindustan to the service of their master. When the ladies were about the distance of a stage from the Imperial camp, the Emperor left Bairam Khan in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.

After a prolonged siege,[148] Sikandar Afghan, being hard

[144] *Governor of Lahore.—T. Alfi.*

[145] *At the village of Chamiyari, twenty kos from Lahore.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 17. According to Abu-l Fazl, it was only an advanced force of 2000 men that was defeated. But still the Emperor was informed by all who came from the Panajb that the whole force of the empire would be reqiured to put down Sikandar.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 58.*

[146] *"Diwaja" in some copies. Badauni says (vol. ii., p. 18) "Disawa and Dihmiri." The Akbar-nama (vol. ii., p. 61) "Dehsuna and Damhari."*

[147] *It consists of four strong towers, built by (Sultan) Salim Khan Afghan, when he warred against the Ghakars."—Akbar-nama, p. 62; T. Alfi; Akbar-nama of Faizi. See supra. Vol. IV., p. 494 (Or. Ed.).*

[148] *Nearly six months, and after mounds (sarkobs) and batteries had been brought close up.—Alfi. Badauni adds (vol. ii., p. 18) that*

The elephant on which Himun was riding, when Himun fell wounded in the *howda* and its driver was killed,[141] made off towards the jungle. It so happened that Shah Kuli Khan fell in with this elephant, and made his own driver mount it. The driver then perceived that there was a man lying wounded in the *howda*, and upon examination this person proved to be Himun himself. Shah Kuli Khan, fully alive to the importance of his discovery, drove the elephant, along with several others which had been captured in the field, to the presence of the Emperor. Bairam Khan Khan-khanan then put Himun to death with his own hand.[142]

Sikandar Khan Uzbek, according to orders, pursued the fugitives to Dehli and sent many of them to hell. Next day the army marched from Panipat, and without halting anywhere went straight to Dehli. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception, and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month. Intelligence was brought in that all the children and dependents of Himun, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewat; so Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani was sent thither. He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the treasures and valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.[143]

[141] *Abu-l Fazl states that Himun's own driver, in fear of his life, betrayed his master.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 49*

[142] *Badauni, Abu-l Fazl and Faizi all state that Bairam Khan killed Himun after having failed to induce the Emperor to do so. Bairam Khan said, according to Badauni, "This is your first war (ghaza), prove your sword on this infidel, for it will be a meritorious deed.' Akbar replied, 'He is now no better than a dead man, how can I strike him.? If he had sense and strength, I would try my sword.' Then, in the presence of them all, the Khan, as a warrior of the faith, cut him down with his sword." Himu's head was sent to Kabul, and his body to Dehli, to be exposed over the gates.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 51; Badauni, vol. ii., p. 16; Tarikh-i Alfi; Akbar-nama of Faizi-Sirhindi. See also supra.*

[143] *Alfi adds that many Afghans were killed, and that Mewat was annexed to the Imperial dominions.*

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 9th Jumada-l awwal, 964 H. (10 March, 1557). Intelligence arrived that Khizr Khan Khwaja[144] had been defeated[145] by Sikandar Afghan; the Emperor therefore set out for Lahore, to oppose the victor. When he reached Jalandhar, Sikandar fell back to the Siwalik hills, and the royal forces pursued him to Disawa,[146] and from thence to Damhari. It now became obvious that Sikandar meant to retreat, and had no intention of fighting. A party of distinguished nobles was sent in pursuit, and by rapid marches came up to the camp of Sikandar. He then shut himself up in the fort of Mankot.[147] The Imperial army followed, and laid siege to the fort. Day by day the batteries were advanced, and the garrison was closely pressed.

At this time Her Highness Mariam Makani, mother of the Emperor, with other royal ladies, arrived in Hindustan from Kabul, to the great satisfaction of the Emperor. Muhammad Kuli Birlas, Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka, and the other great nobles who had been sent to assist Mun'im Khan at Kabul against Mirza Sulaiman, at the same time returned to Hindustan to the service of their master. When the ladies were about the distance of a stage from the Imperial camp, the Emperor left Bairam Khan in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.

After a prolonged siege,[148] Sikandar Afghan, being hard

[144] *Governor of Lahore.—T. Alfi.*

[145] *At the village of Chamiyari, twenty kos from Lahore.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 17. According to Abu-l Fazl, it was only an advanced force of 2000 men that was defeated. But still the Emperor was informed by all who came from the Panajb that the whole force of the empire would be reqiured to put down Sikandar.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 58.*

[146] *"Diwaja" in some copies. Badauni says (vol. ii., p. 18) "Disawa and Dihmiri." The Akbar-nama (vol. ii., p. 61) "Dehsuna and Damhari."*

[147] *It consists of four strong towers, built by (Sultan) Salim Khan Afghan, when he warred against the Ghakars."—Akbar-nama, p. 62; T. Alfi; Akbar-nama of Faizi. See supra. Vol. IV., p. 494 (Or. Ed.).*

[148] *Nearly six months, and after mounds (sarkobs) and batteries had been brought close up.—Alfi. Badauni adds (vol. ii., p. 18) that*

pressed, requested that some confidential noble might be sent in to arrange terms with him.[149] The Emperor commissioned Atka Khan to perform this duty. When he entered the fortress, Sikandar addressed him in very deprecatory terms, confessing that he had been very bold and presumptuous, and that he knew he had no chance in resistance. He begged that he might be permitted to retire to Bengal, promising to remain faithful in his allegiance, and offering to leave his son as a hostage. Atka Khan returned and reported these proposals, through Pir Muhammad Khan, to the Khan-khanan, and upon his communicating them to the Emperor, they were graciously approved. Sikandar accordingly sent his son, 'Abdur Rahman, along with Ghazi Sur, and he also sent with them several war-elephants and various articles of tribute. So on the 27th Ramazan, 964, the fort was surrendered to the royal forces.[150] On the 2nd Shawwal the army marched on its return towards Lahore. After four months and fourteen days the army marched from Lahore on its return to Dehli.

One day, while the army was lying before Mankot, His Majesty had two elephants, named respectively Fatuha and Bakhsha, brought out to fight for his amusement; and as the animals pressed each other, they approached very close to the tent of Khan-khanan. It so happened that the Khan was ill, and confined to his bed with boils. The suspicion came into his mind that the elephants were perhaps directed thither by the royal servants, and this idea was encouraged by the people who were around him. So he sent a person to the Emperor to inquire what fault his detractors had imputed to him, that he should have been subjected to this mark of the royal dis-

grain had become very scarce in the fort, and that desertions daily took place.

[149] *Abu-l Fazl and Faizi say that the defeat and death of 'Adali had its effect in bringing about the surrender.—Akbar-name, vol. ii., pp. 72-73. See supra.*

[150] *Sikandar received the districts of Bihar and Kharid in jagir. He died two years later.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 73.*

pleasure.[151] After returning to Lahore Khan-khanan still harped upon this matter; and sending for Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka, he told him his suspicion, that this unkind action of His Majesty had been instigated by him. When Atka Khan heard this charge, he was much distressed; so he took all his sons with him to the house of Khan-khanan, and by taking an oath upon the Kuran removed his suspicions.[152]

After four months and fourteen days, the army marched[153] from Lahore to Dehli. Upon reaching Jalandhar a halt was made, and Khan-khanan was married to Sultan Begam, daughter of Mirza Nuru-d din who was a son of the sister of the late Emperor Humayun. The Emperor Humayun, during his lifetime, had promised her to the Khan khanan, and now, under the orders of the Emperor Akbar, the union was accomplished. Khan-khanan gave a splendid banquet to which he invited His Majesty, who was graciously pleased to honour it with his presence. The Khan was profuse in his generosity on the occasion. At the beginning of the third year of the Ilahi, the army recommenced its march for Dehli.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year coincided with Tuesday, 20th Jumada-l awwal, 965 H. (10th March, 1558), and on the 25th Jumada-s sani His Majesty arrived at Dehli. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khan-khanan, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwan-khanah*, and transact business under the directions and commands of His Majesty.

[151] *According to Abu-l Fazl, Bairam Khan made his communication through Maham Anka (Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 74). "The Emperor assured him that it was accidental."—Alfi.*

[152] *This paragraph is omitted in one MS., but the 'T. Alfi' tells the story in strict agreement with this.*

[153] *On the 15th Safar, 965 H.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 79.*

Infatuation of Khan-zaman for one of the royal troopers

In this year Musahib Khan, son of Khwaja Kalan Beg, one of the principal nobles of the late Emperor, was put to death by order of the Khan-khanan, because he had shown great ill-feeling and malice towards the Khan.

One day in this year His Majesty went out riding on an elephant called Lakhna, and as he was going along, the animal rushed after another elephant. It so happened that he came to a ditch into which he stumbled, and the Emperor was thrown from his seat on the neck of the animal, but his foot was caught in the rope[154] which was tied round the beast's neck. The man who was riding behind him came to the ground, but His Majesty clung to the rope until a number of persons collected and released his foot. The elephant extricated himself by his own strength, and His Majesty again mounted him and returned home. After the expiration of six months the Emperor embarked in a boat and fell down to Agra, where he arrived on the 17th Muharram, 966 H. (30th Oct. 1558), in the third year of the Ilahi.[155]

One of the most important incidents of this year was that relating to Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani. The Pir was the general manager (*wakil-i mutlak*) of the Khan-khanan,[156] and all the business of the State passed through his hands. He was the person to whom the nobles and officers had to make their applications, and of the many, high and low, who attended at his door, he admitted hardly any one. His temper now became so arrogant and perverted that for some days he would not come out of his house. The Khan-khanan went to call upon him as upon a sick person. The slave asked the Khan-khanan to wait

[154] *Which in Hindi they call "kawana."—Akbar-name, vol. ii., p. 90. It is the band in which the driver fixes his feet.*

[155] *"He took up his residence in the citadel (ark) of the city which was called Badal-garh."—Akbar-nama, vol, ii., p. 95.*

[156] *Badauni relates that the Khan-khanan and Pir Muhammad were one day out hunting together, and that the former being hungry, the Pir entertained him and his suite. To the great astonishment of the Khan Pir Muhammad's hunting equipage supplied thirty (three?) hundred goblets of sherbet and eight hundred dishes of food.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 26.*

until he had made known his wish to the Pir. This greatly incensed the Khan-khanan. When Pir Muhammad was informed of what had passed, he rushed out, and made many apologies to the Khan-khanan, who told him how the slave had refused him admission. The Pir made the excuse that the slave did not know him. Khan-khanan asked him how he knew what the slave thought. But for all that had passed, when the Khan-khanan went in, his servants were not permitted to attend him, excepting Tahir Muhammad Sultan, *Mir-i faraghat*, who made his way in to look after his master. The Khan-khanan sat for a while; but when he came out, he thought over this conduct of Pir Muhammad. After a few days he sent Khwaja Aminu-d daula Mahmud, subsequently Khwaja-i Jahan, Mir 'Abdu-lla Bakshi, Khwaja Muhammad Husain Bakhshi, and several other of his followers to Pir Muhammad Khan, with this message: "Formerly you were a poor student, and came to Kandahar in a needy, forlorn condition; but I perceived some signs of excellence in you, and remembered some old services. I therefore advanced you to the dignity of Khan and Sultan. But your nature is unable to bear this great advancement, and the bad points in your character get the mastery of you. I therefore think it advisable to deprive you for a time of royal distinctions and dignity, so that you may come to your proper senses. You must return your banner, kettle-drum, and all other marks of honour." So all signs of dignity were immediately taken away from him, and he became simple Pir Muhammad. Some days afterwards he was taken to the fort of Bayana, under Khan-khanan's orders, and from thence was sent to Mecca; but he proceeded to Gujarat, and there remained until after the fall of Bairam Khan, when he returned to Court.

The office of *vakil* to Khan-khanan, which was thus taken from Pir Muhammad, was given to Haji Muhammad Sistani, who was one of the Khan's servants. At this time the dignity of *Sadarat-i mamalik* (office of Lord Chief Justice) was conferred upon Shaikh Gadai, son of Shaikh Jamal Kambu of Dehli, through the interest of Khan-khanan, who remembered the kindness which he had received from the Shaikh during the time of

his exile in Gujarat.[157] The honour thus conferred gave the Shaikh precedence over the grandees (*akabir*) of Hindustan and Khurasan. At the same period also that pattern of great men, Mir 'Abdu-l Latif Kazwini, was appointed tutor to His Majesty, and His Majesty used often to read with him *ghazals* of Hafiz, who is called Lisanu-l ghaib.[158]

The fort of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *rajas*. After the time of Salim Khan (Islam Shah) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghulams*, by Sultan Muhammad 'Adali. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Agra, Habib 'Ali Sultan, Maskud 'Ali Kor, and Kiya Khan were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days, and the garrison being in distress surrendered.[159]

FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Friday, the 2nd Jumada-l akhir, 966 H. (10th March, 1559 A.D.). In this year Khan-zaman was sent to reduce Jaunpur, the capital of the Sharkiya kings, which was now in possession of the Afghans. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country[160] to the Imperial dominions. In this year Habib 'Ali Khan was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khan Afghan this fort was under the charge of Haji Khan, one of his *ghulams*, and this Haji Khan had now sold the fort to Rai Surjan,[161] a relation (*az khishan*) of Rai Udi Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habib 'Ali, with his army, invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood; the *amirs* then departed to their *jagirs*.

[157] *According to Abu-l Fazl he exercised great influence over Bairam Khan, and this appointment had a baleful effect.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 109.*

[158] *gazalhai lisan u'l pish-i mir mikhwanand.*

[159] *In Rabi'ul-akhir.—T. Alfi*

[160] *"And Benares."—T. Alfi.*

[161] *See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 409.*

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus arrived at Agra from Gujarat; but as a memoir of the Shaikh is given among the memoirs of the *shaikhs* of the age in this work, it is unnecessary to dilate upon the subject here. To be brief, in the year 966, the Shaikh arrived with his disciples and a large party at Agra, and was honoured with a royal reception. But there was ill-feeling between him and Shaikh Gadai, and Shaikh Gadai held great ascendancy over Khan-khanan; the consequence was that Shaikh Muhammad did not receive that attention from the Khan-khanan that he had expected. He was greatly annoyed at this, and went off to Gwalior, which was his place of residence, and there remained until the end of his days, discharging the duties of a Shaikh. His Majesty settled upon him one *kror* (of *tankas*?) as a pension.

At this time, while the Court was at Agra, Bahadur Khan,[162] brother of Khan-zaman, marched to effect the conquest of Malwa, which had formerly belonged to the Khilji monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Baz Bahadur, son of Shuja Khan Afghan.[163] He had reached the town of Siri when the agitation arose about Bairam Khan, and under the orders of the Khan he returned.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year was Saturday, 16th Jumada-l akhir, 967 H. (10th March, 1560 A.D.). The general management of Imperial affairs was under the direction of Bairam Khan; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor. Prominent among these men was Adham Khan, who, being the son of Maham Anka,[164] held a higher position than

[162] *Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 328.*

[163] *Ib. p. 428.*

[164] *This name has been p a d in Firishta, Badauni, and other works as "Atka," and the translator of Firishta has accordingly called "Maham Atka," the 'father' instead of 'mother' of Adham Khan. Firishta's*

all the other courtiers. In accord with his mother, he constantly showed his malice; but Khan-khanan's wisdom and ability were so manifest, that Adham's ill-natured observations did not meet with the royal approval. But at length, on the 8th Jumada-s sani, 967 H., His Majesty crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition, and Khan-khanan remained behind at Agra in charge of the government. His Majesty reached the town of Sikandar, half way to Dehli. At this time Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri[165] held the government of Dehli, and Her Highness Mariam Makani, mother of the Emperor, was in that city. Maham Anka, who was related to Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan,[166] settled in her own mind that the best thing she could do was to incite the Emperor to proceed to Dehli, where, in collusion with Shahabu-d din Ahmad, she (Anka) might settle what was the best course to pursue. In furtherance of this plan, she represented to the Emperor that Her Highness Mariam Makani was in a weak ailing state, and had a great desire to see him. This statement distressed the Emperor, and he deter-

explanation is useful. He says that "a nurse's husband and her male relations are called 'Atka'; the wet-nurse herself, in Turki, is called Anka (or according to the pronunciation marked by the Calcutta Chaghatai Dictionary "anagah"); a foster brother is termed "Koka" (or, with the affix of unity, "Kokaltash," which Abu-l Fazl writes "Gokaltash"). Maham Anka was Akbar's wet-nurse, and, as Blochmann quotes, "she attended on him from the cradle till after his accession." In the 'Akbar-nama' her position and the influence she exercised are made very apparent. She was Akbar's nurse (see supra) and when he grew up she was the chief of his harem. She exercised great influence over him, and in the direction of public affairs. Her share in bringing about the fall of Bairam Khan appears in the text, and after that event she became, according to Abu-l Fazl, the governing spirit and real minister. It does not appear who was her husband, but she was related to Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan. Blochmann says of Adham Khan,, her son, that "the name of his father is unknown: he is evidently a royal bastard." There is a mystery about the paternity, but this statement seems inconsistent with the respectful terms used by Abu-l Fazl in speaking of the lady. Some passages relating to this remarkable woman will be found among the Extracts from the 'Akbar-nama.' See Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 211. Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari, vol. I., p. 323.

165 *See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 332.*

166 *This sentence is found only in the MS. of the East India Library.*

mined to go on to Dehli.[167] Shahabu-d din came out in state to meet His Majesty, and was graciously received.

Maham Anka, in agreement with Shahabu-d din, seized every oportunity of saying something to set the mind of the Emperor against Bairam Khan. Thus, she[168] insinuated that so long as Bairam Khan was in power, the Emperor would have no will of his own over the affairs of State,—that the whole power was in the Khan's hands, and His Majesty was under his control. At length she said that when Khan-khanan discovered that she had been the cause of the Emperor's proceeding to Dehli, he would have a grudge against her, and that she was quite unable to contend against his animosity. She therefore begged His Majesty to give her leave to proceed to Mecca, so that at the holy city she might offer up prayers for His Hajesty in absence, instead of serving him in presence. The assiduous attention of Maham Anka had won the regard of the Emperor, and he would not listen to the suggestion of separation from her. He said he would request Khan-khanan to overlook her offence, and he sent a message to the Khan to this effect : "As I have come all this way without consulting you, my attendants have fallen under your suspicion. Now you must make yourself quite at ease about them, so that you may continue to serve me with a tranquil mind." Shahabu-d din Ahmad was very vigilant and cautious in his proceedings. He began to strengthen the fortifications and took every precaution to get a control over State affairs : all the while exerting himself, in concert with Maham Anka, to set the attendants of the Emperor against the minister.

Khan-khanan, on receiving the Emperor's message, sent Khwaja Aminu-d din Mahmud Haji Muhammad Sistani and Tarsun Beg,[169] who held important offices to Dehli, to wait upon His Majesty, with this statement : "The devotion and loyalty of your servant would never allow him to do anything to any of the State against His Majesty's wishes ; for nought but kind-

[167] *"He reached Dehli on the 28th Jumada-l akhir."*

[168] *The verb throughout this passage is in the plural, but the context makes it clear that Maham Anka is the unexpressed nominative.*

[169] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., pp. 342, 374.*

ness and favour is due to all those who faithfully discharge their duties."

The royal ears had been filled with injurious stories and statements against Khan-khanan, so the Khan's message did not receive His Majesty's approval, and the messengers were sent back. When the report of His Majesty's displeasure with Khan-khanan became public, all men turned their backs upon him, and their faces towards the Emperor. Among the first who were admitted to royal favour was Kiya Khan Gang.[170] Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, with the assistance of Maham Anka, inspired every one who came to Court with the hope of receiving dignities and *jagirs* suitable to their condition.

Khan-khanan had long entertained a desire to go on pilgrimage to the holy places. He informed the *amirs* and *khans* who still held to him of the project he had formed, and then quitted the Imperial service. He sent along with these men Bahadur Khan, whom he had called from Malwa, and leaving Agra[171] he proceeded towards Nagor on his pilgrimage to the holy places. When he arrived at Bayana, he set at liberty Muhammad Amin Diwana, who was there confined, and sent him to Court. As soon as intelligence of Khan-khanan's departure from Agra arrived, Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and Maham Anka represented to His Majesty that he had left Agra with the intention of attacking the Punjab. His Majesty then sent Mir 'Abdu-l Latif to the Khan-khanan with this message : "As I was fully assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasure. I have now determined to take the reins of government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should now make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *jagir* out of the *parganas* of Hindustan shall be

[170] *Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 343.*

[171] *He left Agra for Nagor on the 12th Rajab, and on reaching Bayana he liberated Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, and Muhammad Amin Diwana, directing them to proceed to the Emperor. But, says Abu-l Fazl, his object in setting free such turbulent persons was only to foment disturbances.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii. p. 126.*

assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."

When Mir 'Abdu-l Latif communicated this message to Khan-khanan, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mir, he left Mewat on his way to Nagor. Of all his followers there now remained with him only Wali Beg Zu-l Kadar, his sons Husain Kuli Beg and Ismail Kuli Beg, who were relations of his, Shah Kuli Mahrim, Husain Khan his sister's son, and his son-in-law Mahdi Kasim Khan. Upon reaching Nagor, he sent banner, kettle-drums, and all other marks of nobility to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kuli Beg. The Emperor had left Dehli, and was proceeding towards the Panjab.[172] He had reached the *pargana* of Jhajhar when Husain Kuli Beg waited upon him. Among the persons present (with the Beg) was Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, who, being mounted on horse-back, endeavoured to overtake His Majesty. This greatly offended the Emperor, who ordered the culprit into confinement, and placed him in the custody of Shahabu-d din Ahmad. The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor.

Pir Muhammad Khan Shirwani, whom the Khan-khanan had banished from the country and sent to Mecca, had waited in Gujarat for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khan-khanan, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title, "Nasiru-l Mulk", as well as with a banner and kettle-drums. He was then sent with a force to hasten Khan-khanan's departure for Mecca, and accordingly marched after him. After this His Majesty returned to Dehli, and a *farman* was issued, summoning Mun'im Khan from Kabul.

As Mal Deo Raja of Joudhpur held a strong and threatening position in the way to Gujarat, with the intention of attacking Bairam Khan, the Khan delayed his movements, and eventually marched from Nagor towards Bikanir. Rai Kalyan Mal and his son Rai Sing,[173] who were the zamindars of that country, received him with great kindness, and treated him most hospitably. After

[172] *"Nagor."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 126.*

[173] *They belonged to the Rathors of Bikanir, and will frequently*

staying there a few days, and resting from the fatigues of the journey, he learnt that Pir Muhammad Khan had been sent to pursue him, and this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their. opportunity, played upon the feeling of the Khan-khanan, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Panjab.

When he arrived at the fort of Tabarhindh (Sirhind), which was the *jagir* of Sher Muhammad Diwana, one of his old servants,[174] to whom he had shown great kindness, in full confidence of his faithfulness, Khan-khanan, left there his son Mirza Khan ('Abdu-r Rahim), who was then in the third year of his age, but who is at the present day exalted to the dignity of Khan-khanan and *sipah-salar* (commander-in-chief). He also left his females and property, and proceeded on his course. Sher Muhammad thereupon appropriated all the property, and treated the dependents of the Khan-khanan with great indignity. The Khan-khanan was in the *pargana* of Dipalpur when he was informed of these proceedings. He sent his *diwan* Khwaja Muzaffar 'Ali (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khan[175]) along with Darwesh Muhammad Uzbek to exposulate and intercede with Sher Muhammad but the latter seized Muzaffar 'Ali, and sent him prisoner to the Emperor. Sorely troubled by these acts, the Khan went on to Jalandhar.

On the Emperor being informed of Khan-khanan's advance towards the Panjab, he despatched Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka,[176] his son Yusuf Khan,[177] Husain Khan a relation of Shhahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, and a body of nobles to the Panjab. When the royal forces reached the town of Dagdar,[178] and proceeded from thence to the *pargana* of Kona,[179]

appear in the following pages. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 357.

[174] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 40) calls him the adopted son (pisar-i khwandah) of Khan-khanan.*

[175] *Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 348.*

[176] *Ibid, vol. ii., p. 321.*

[177] *Ib. p. 323.*

[178] *"In the vicinity of Jalandhar, between the Satlej and Biyah."— Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 140.*

[179] *Badauni (p. 40) calls it "Kanur." Abu-l Fazl, "Konajur". Faizi says "Konachur", one of the villages of 'pargana' Rahun.*

they hemmed in Khan-khanan, so that he was obliged to fight. Compelled to action, he drew up his forces, and confronted the royal army. A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides,[180] and Khan-khanan, being defeated, fled towards the Siwalik hills. Wali Beg Zu-l Kadar and his son Ism'il Kuli Beg (who now holds a position among the great nobles), Ahmad Beg, Ya'kub Beg Hamadani, and all his brothers, were taken prisoners, and great booty fell into the hands of the royal troops. This victory was gained in the fifth year of the Ilahi, agreeing with 967 A.H.

After Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka had marched for the Panjab, the Emperor left Khwaja 'Abdu-l Majid Harawi (who had been admitted to the position of a minister) (*silk-i wuzara*), and had been honoured with the title of Asaf Khan[181] in charge of Dehli, and on the 2nd Zi-l ka'da, 967, himself marched to Panjab. He placed Husain Kuli Beg, son of Wali Zu-l Kadar, by way of precaution, in custody of Asaf Khan, with directions to treat him generously, and do him no harm. When the Emperor reached Jalandhar, Mun'im Khan, who had been summoned from Kabul, arrived,[182] and was accompanied by Mukim Khan, sister's son of Tardi Beg Khan, and several other *amirs*. Mun'im Khan was raised to the dignity of minister (*wakalat*), and received the title of Khan-khhanan, and the nobles in his company received favours and honours suitable to their respective positions.

At this place Akbar received the intelligence of the victory gained by Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan. Those who had been taken prisoners in that engagement were brought into the

[180] *According to Abu-l Fazl and Fazii, the Imperial forces were at first repulsed and the victory was gained only by the great gallantry and desparate exertions of the Imperial generals.*

[181] *Asaf was the 'wazir' of Sulaiman, and proverbial for his wisdom. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., pp. 366, 368.*

[182] *"On the 15th Zi-l ka'da."—'Abkar-nama', vol. ii., p. 143. Mukim Khan afterwards became Shuja'at Khan. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari'. vol. i., p. 371. Badauni says the meeting was at Ludhiyana.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 43.*

royal presence captive and forlorn, and were committed to safe custody. One of the number, Wali Beg, who had received a severe wound, died in prison. So his head was cut off and sent to Dehli. The Emperor then marched onwards toward the Siwalik hills,[183] in pursuit of the Khan-khanan. He reached the neighbourhood of Talwara, a district in the Siwalik, belonging to Raja Gobind[184] Chand, where the Khan-khanon had sought refuge. A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hills, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultan Husain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khan-khanan, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khan insantly sent one of his followers, Jamal Khan, to the Emperor with this message : "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control ; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that Maulana 'Abdu-lla Sultanpuri, who had received the title of Makhdumu-l Mulk, should proceed, with several other attendants of the Court, to Khan-khanan, and having assured him of the Emperor's kindly feeling, should bring him to his presence.[185] When the Khan-khanan approached the royal camp, all the *amirs* and *khans* went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark

[183] *He first went to Lahore, which he reached on the 26th Zi-l hijja.—Akkar-nama, vol. ii., p. 145.*

[184] *Abu-l Fazl says : "Raja Ganes of Talwara, a strong place in the midst of the Siwalik hills ;" and, according to him, the royal forces had a good deal of fighting with the hill people.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 146.*

[185] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 44) says it was Mun'im Khan who conducted him to the Emperor, and that he placed all his tents and attendants at the fallen minister's disposal.*

of honour. On his coming into the royal presence, the Khan placed his sad countenance upon the ground of supplication, and craved forgiveness for his offences. The Emperor received him with the most princely grace, and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca[186] and the holy places. The royal camp then moved on its return to Dehli, and the Emperor went towards Hisar-Firozah hunting.

Khan-khanan, with his people, took the road to Gujarat. He reached the city of Pattan, in Gujarat, and there rested for some days. This city was then under the government of Musa Khan Lodi Puladi. Khan-khanan went about examining the city, and one day he went out to the Kolabi (lake), a place within sight of the city, and famous for Sahasnak.[187] They call it in the Hindi language *Nara*. A temple Ranamand, like a thousand temples, stood there, and gave it celebrity. After visiting this place, he went about (the lake) in a boat. When he disembarked and returned home, an Afghan, named Mubarak Khan Lohani, whose father had been killed in an action with the Mughals,[188] came to wait upon the Khan-khanan, with the intention of wreaking vengeance upon him. When they were shaking hands, he assassinated him with his dagger.[189] The words "Muhammad Bairam," contain the date of this murder. Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased. Muhammad Amin Diwana and Baba Zambur, with several of the eunuchs, rescued from the fray Mirza 'Abdu-r Rahim, the son of the Khan-khanan,[190] who was then a child of only four

[186] *According to Badauni (vol. II., p. 44) the Emperor furnished him with money, and the nobles, great and small, and the courtiers, lent their assistance, "and made up the supply of money and goods which the Turks call 'Chandogh.'"*

[187] *"Sahnas Lang."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 45.*

[188] *He had been put to death by order of the Khan-khanan.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 45.*

[189] *He had thirty or forty companions. He stabbed the Khan with his dagger in the back, so that the point came out of his bosom, and one of the assassin's companions finished the business with his sword.—T. Alfi. and Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 165.*

[190] *His mother and the attendants were also rescued by the courage of Muhammad Amin and his followers.—T. Alfi*

years of age, but in these days has been exalted to the dignity of Khan-khanan. They conducted the boy to Ahmadabad, and from thence they carried him to the Court of the Emperor, in the hope of obtaining his protection. The Emperor received the child with the most princely favour, and the good qualities which he exhibited so won upon the Emperor's mind, that his prosperity went on growing until he attained the dignity of Khan-khanan.

When the Khan-khanan (Bairam Khan) went to Gujarat, the Emperor proceeded towards Hisar-Firozah on a hunting excursion, but the army was sent on to Dehli, the capital, by the direct route. Having hunted with some leashes of a kind of leopard, which is called *chita* in Hindi, on the 4th Rabi'u-l awwal, 968 H. (9th Nov., 1560), he arrived at Dehli, and there stopped awhile for a little rest and enjoyment. On the 2nd Rabi's-s sani he started for Agra by boat, and arrived there on the 12th of the same month.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year was Sunday, 24th Jumada-l akhir, 968 H. (10th March, 1561). In this year the marriage of Muhammad Baki Khan was celebrated with a lady whose family connexions have been explained in another place. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence, and was followed by rejoicings and feasting for several days.

In the days of Sher Khan the country of Malwa had been held by Shuja'at Khan,[191] who was one of his own clan (*Khassa khail*), and after his death it had come into the hands of his son Baz Bahadur. It now came to His Majesty's knowledge that Baz Bahadur had given himself up to sensuality,[192] and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and people had been reduced to distress. The honour

[191] *He was, as before stated, commonly called "Shujawat Khan," but Badauni (vol., ii., p. 47) goes a little wider, and calls him "Sazawal Khan".*

[192] *Abu-l Fazl calls him also drunkard.*

of the Imperial throne required that this country should be again brought under its control, and find peace and security. So Adham Khan, Pir Muhammad Khan, Sadik Khan, Kiya Khan Gang. 'Abdulla Khan Uzbek, Shah Muhammad Kandahari, and some other *amirs*, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country.[193] They accordingly marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of Sarangpur in that country, Baz Bahadur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city.

Baz Bahadur was the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song. He spent much of his time in the society of singers and musicians. When the Imperial army was at ten *kos* from Sarangpur, Adham Khan sent forward an advanced force to the entrenchments which Baz Bahadur had thrown up around his army. Several attempts were made to entice him out of his lines, and the royal forces drew together in order to surround him. Baz Bahadur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight.[194] Rup-mati, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry, several other wives, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Baz Bahadur's wounded Rup-mati with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khan summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

Adham Khan wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants under charge of Sadik Khan, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed in person to Malwa. On the 21st Sha'ban, 968 H. the Emperor left Agra, and marched towards Malwa. When he reached the fort of

[193] *"With five or six thousand men."—Faizi.*
[194] *"Towards Khandesh and Burhanpur."—Faizi.*

Gagrun, which is celebrated among the fortresses of Malwa for its strength and height, he gave orders for its reduction. But the commandant of the fort hastened to surrender, and presented his tribute. This greatly pleased the Emperor, who made a forced march in the night, and arrived by dawn in the vicinity of Sarangpur.[195] 'Adham Khan had left Sarangpur in order to besiege Gagrun, so he met the Emperor at three *kos* distance from that place,[196] and was graciously received. Then they rode on to the city, and Adham Khan's abode was given up to His Majesty. Adham Khan now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor, who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Agra.

At that place Pir Muhammad Khan Shirwani and other nobles who had *jagirs* in Malwa, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses and were then sent back to their *jagirs*. When the Emperor was near Narwar, a formidable tiger came out of the jungle. The Emperor slowly approached the beast, and with one blow of sword brought her to the ground. Some of his attendants killed the young ones with swords and spears.

Muhammad Asghar, *Mir-munshi*, who was celebrated for the beauty of his writing and composition, was now appointed *Mir-munshi*, and received the title of Ashraf Khan. On the 29th Ramazan, 968, the Court reached Agra.

When 'Adali, the Afghan, was slain by the sons of Muhammad Khan Bangali,* who was one of the nobles of Salim Khan Afghan, 'Adali's son, Sher Khan, took his seat upon the throne of Government, in the fort of Chunar, and then led an army to attempt the conquest of Jaunpur. Thereupon Khan-zaman

[195] *The journey was performed in sixteen days.—Faizi.*

[196] *"As he knew nothing of the Emperor's approach, he was astounded, and wondered what was the reason."—T. Alfi. Abu-l Fazl also describes the amazement of Adham Khan at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Maham Anka to warn Adham Khan. He also describes how Adham Khan surrendered his spoils, and how reluctantly he at last gave up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Baz Bahadur.—Akbar-nama. vol. ii., p. 178.*

**See Ahmad Yadgar—Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghana.*

sent information to the Imperial Court and the *amirs* who held *jagirs* in that part of the country were commanded to support Khan-zaman. Ibrahim Khan Uzbek, Majnun Khan Kakshal, Shaham Khan Jalair, Kamal Khan Gakhar, and many other chiefs, in obedience to the royal order, joined Kuli Khan (Khan-zaman).[197] The Afghans having crossed the river, gave battle, but Khan-zaman exerted himself gallantly, and put them to flight.

Various actions of Khan-zaman excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpur, on a progress of hunting and pleasure. On approaching Kalpi, the camp was about to be pitched, when 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, who held Kalpi in *jagir* came forward, and begged His Majesty to honour his house by taking up his quarters there. The proposal was graciously accepted, and 'Abdu-lla Khan rendered the services due from him and presented his offerings, for which he was honoured by His Majesty's approbation.

When the Court reached Karra, 'Ali Kuli Khan Khan-zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan came up by forced marches from their *jagir* of Jaunpur, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognized they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their *jagirs*. On the 17th Zi-l hijja, of the sixth year of the Ilahi, corresponding with 968 H. the Court reached Agra.

Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka,[198] who bore the title of

[197] *The force of the enemy was nearly 20,000 horse, 50,000 foot, and 500 elephants. Khan-zaman declined to meet them in the open. When the enemy crossed the river, he bore all before him, but his force was eventually cut up in the streets and suburbs of Jaunpur.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 185.*

[198] *Shamsu-d din Muhammad was a native of Ghazni, and began life as a common soldier under Prince Kamran. It was he who assisted the Emperor Humayun out of the river after the disastrous battle of Kanauj (supra). He accompanied the Emperor in his exile, and his wife was one of the nurses (anka) of Akbar. As foster father (atka) of Akbar, he received the title of Atka Khan, and his sons were the 'kokas' or 'kokaltashes' of the Emperor. His family is sometimes called the Atkakhail.—Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 321.*

Khan-i 'azam, and held the government of the Panjab, now came to Court. He was graciously received, and the direction of the affairs of the State was committed to his charge.[199] About the same time, Adham Khan, in obedience to a royal command, came from Malwa to the capital, and was welcomed with due honour.

On the 8th Jumada-l awwal, 969 H. the Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutbu-l auliya Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti.[200] When he reached the town of Sambar, Raja Bihari Mal[201] one of the chief *rajas* of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwan Das[202] to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court. From thence he proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city. Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain, who held a *jagir* in the territory of Ajmir, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *omirs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mirtha[203] about twenty *kos* from Ajmir,

[199] *"This appointment greatly annoyed Maham Anka, who, from her superior intelligence and many services, had deemed herself permanent minister (wakil i saltanat baistiklal). Munim Khan, who had been the ostensible minister, was also aggrieved."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 189.*

[200] *He was a native of Sistan, and is called also Sijizi.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 195.*

[201] *Bihari Mal was a Kachhwahah, and was the first Rajput Chief who joined Akbar. He is often called, as in our MS., Bihara Mal. He and his family played distinguished parts in the reign of Akbar, and intermarried with the Imperial family His four brothers were named Puran, Rupsi, Askaran, and Jag Mal. He had three sons in Akbar's service. Bhagwan Das, Jagannath, and Salhadi; the first of whom was a most distinguished officer, and on one occasion saved the Emperor's life. He is also called Bhagwan and Bhagwant Das. The son of the latter, named Man Sing, was no less distinguished and attained the highest rank.—See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., pp. 328, 333, 339.*

[202] *The MSS. have "Gobind Das", but Badauni (vol. ii., p. 50) is right in calling him "Bhagwan Das."*

[203] *Mirtha, or Mairtha, forty miles west by north from Ajmir.*

which was held by Jai Mal.[204] His Majesty then started for Agra, and making forced marches, he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and night.[205]

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 7th Rajab, 969 H. (10th March, 1562). At the beginning of this year Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain besieged the fort of Mirtha, being assisted by Shah Bidagh Khan,[206] and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, Muhammad Husain Shaikh, and some other nobles. Great exertions were made on both sides but at length it was agreed that the garrison should march out with their horses and arms (*kamchi*), but leave behind all their property and effects. When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort, Jail Mal marched out with his men. But Deo-das, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rajputs, and passed in front of the royal army. Mirza Sharafu-d din and other nobles followed Deo-das, and when they came up with him, he turned round and attacked them. Many of the royal soldiers fell, and nearly 200 Rajputs were slain. Deo-das himself was unhorsed, and being overtaken as he lay upon the ground, he was cut to pieces.[207] The fort of Mirtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.

About this time Pir Muhammad Khan,[208] who, after the departure of Adham Khan, held the government of Malwa, assembled the forces of that province, and marched to subdue

[204] *Jai Mal was the commandant on behalf of Rai Mal Deo.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 204.*

[205] *'Dar Shaban-roz'. The "T. Alfi" gives the more probable time of "three days," and Abu-l Fazl says "less than three days."*

[206] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 371.*

[207] *"Some say he was wounded, but escaped, and after some years re-appeared in the guise of a 'jogi'. Some recognized, others repudiated, him. At length he was killed in one of their quarrels."—Tarikh-i Alfi.*

[208] *"Whose boldness and courage were greater than his judgment."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 211.*

the countries of Asir and Burhanpur. He laid siege to Bijagarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword.[209] He then marched against Asir, a well-known place in Khandesh. Crossing the river Nerbadda, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and come to Burhanpur. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governors of Asir and Burhanpur, and Baz Bahadur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Malwa, now concerted together, and, assisted by all the zamindars of the country, they assembled a force with which they assailed Pir Muhammad Khan.[210] Unable to resist, Pir Muhammad fled towards Mandu, and when he came to the Nerbadda, he, and all the nobles with him, plunged into its waters. It so happened that a camel came up and bit the horse upon which he was riding. He was thrown off into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds.[211] The other nobles, on reaching Malwa, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Baz Bahadur pursued them, and brought the whole of Malwa once more into his power. The *amirs* who had abandoned Malwa and had come to Court without orders, were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disaster in Malwa, and Mu'inu-d din Ahmed Khan Farankhudi, and several other Khans, were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A.D.), 'Abdu-lla and his auxiliaries entered Malwa, and Baz Bahadur, being unable to

[209] *"He next proceeded against Sultanpur, and annexed it to the Imperial territories."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 212.*

[210] *As his men "were pursuing their straggling march homewards, laden with spoil, Pir Muhammad made an attempt to beat off the pursuers but he was ill supported."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 213.*

[211] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 51) is eloquent upon the subject: "By way of water he went to fire; and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business."*

withstand him, took to flight.[212] A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Baz Bahadur found protection for some time with Rana Udi Sing,[213] one of the chief *rajas* of Marwar, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarat, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune.[214] 'Abdu-lla Khan remained at Mandu, and the other *amirs* returned to their *jagirs*. Mu'in Khan, after setting the affairs of the country in order, returned to Court.

An intimacy and friendship had existed between the late Emperor Humayun and Shah Tahmasp Sufi of Persia. When Humayun died, and was succeeded by Akbar, the Shah was desirous of keeping up friendly relations. He accordingly sent his nephew, Saiyid Beg, son of Ma'sum Beg, to whom he gave the title Ummu-ughli (uncle's son), as his ambassador, with costly presents. When Saiyid Beg approached Agra, many khans and great men were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him into the city with suitable honours. The sum of seven *lacs* of *tankas* was appropriated to him. He remained at Agra two months, and having received a horse and a robe, he took his departure carrying with him presents from Hindustan.

EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Wednesday, 18th Rajab, 970 H. (13 March, 1563 A.D.). A tragical event occurred in the course of this year.[215] Adham Khan Kokaltash, son of Maham Anka,[216] could not endure to see the elevation

212 *"To the hills of Kambalmir."—T. Alfi.*

213 *"At Chitor and Udipur."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 51.*

214 *He was imprisoned for some time, but (soon after his release) he died.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 51. Faizi says he was granted a 'mansab' of 2,000. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 428.*

215 *Abu-l Fazl and most other writers place this event one year earlier.*

216 *He was her younger son. His brother was Muhammad Baki Khan. See 'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 218. Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., pp. 323 and 381.*

of his compeers.[217] In the presumption of youth, and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan, and several other nobles, and murdered Khan-i 'azam (Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka), then Prime Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the harem. His Majesty rushed out of the harem, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot, and cast over the parapet in punishment of his crime.[218] This murder was committed on the morning of Sunday, 12th Ramazan, 970 H. All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment. Mu'nim Khan and Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-i bahr* (commander of the boats) went over the Jumna, and destroyed the bridge by which they crossed. Shababu-d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri concealed himself. His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Maham Anka; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.

Next day (after the murder) Ashraf Khan *Mir-munshi* received orders to seek out and bring back to His Majesty Mun'im Khan, Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, and Kasim Khan. The thought of having participated in this plot weighed upon the mind of Mu'nim Khan, so although he held the title of Khan-khanan, and held the offices of minister (*wakalat*) and tutor (*atalik*), he having found an opportunity left Agra by night, and went off along with Kasim Khan, commander of the boats,

[217] *The "T. Alfi" represents him as gratified with the death of Bairam Khan, who had always been suspicious and watchful of him.*

[218] *Badauni places this assassination in 969 H. He says the unfortunate minister was cut to pieces (para para), and he adds that as a spark of life was left in the assassin after his fall, the Emperor ordered him to be thrown over the parapet again. He was buried one day before his victim. Firishta's account agrees, but the translation is inaccurate in two points. It calls the minister Shahabu-d din instead of Shamsu-d din, and makes Maham Anka father of the minister instead of mother of the assassin. See Extract from 'Akbar-nama,' infra.*

towards Kabul, where his son 'Abdu-l Ghani Khan was then living. When they came to the *pargana* of Sarut, in the Doab, the *jagir* of Mir Mahmud *Munshi*, one of the *Munshi's* officers, Kasim Ali Sistani, who was *shikkdar* of the district, having heard of their arrival as fugitives from the Court, went out with a party of the inhabitants, and made them prisoners. They were then sent to His Majesty, who winked at their offence, and reinstated them in their offices.

Conquest of the Gakhar Country

The country of the Gakhars lies upon the banks of the river Sind, well known as the *Nil-ab*. This territory, from the Siwalik hills to the borders of Kashmir, has been from all times the possession of the Gakhars, although other tribes, such as the Khattri (Khattar), Januha, Jatriya, Bhugiyal, and Chibh[219] dwell in those parts in subordination to the Gakhars. From the beginning of the reign of the late Emperor Babar to the present time, this tribe would not suffer any intermission of loyalty to the illustrious dynasty, but remained steadfast in their obedience and devotion. Sarang Sultan was especially noted for his fidelity and loyalty. When Sher Khan acquired the supreme power in Hindustan, he wanted to bring the Gakhars under his authority, and used strenuous exertions to effect his purpose, but made little progress, until he succeeded, after much trouble, in getting Sarang Sultan into his hands as a prisoner. He ordered Sarang Sultan to be flayed, and shut up his son Kamal Khan in the fort of Gwalior. After the death of Sarang, his brother Adam became the chief of the clan. He also espoused the cause of the Imperial family, and opposed the Afghans.

When Sher Khan died, and his son Salim Khan obtained the supreme authority, he also, in imitation of his father, plundered and laid waste various portions of the Gakhar territory, and did his utmost to vex and injure them. On one occasion, when some prisoners were brought to Gwalior for

[219] *See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, pp. 456, 487.*

punishment, he ordered them to be placed in a house with a quantity of gun-powder, and the house to be set on fire. Common report tells how all these captives were blown into the air, and how their bodies were blown to pieces. Kamal Khan, who was sitting in a corner of the house, was by God's mercy saved. When Salim Khan heard of his preservation he sent for him, and having induced him to take an oath of fidelity, appointed him to act, in concert with the governor of the Panjab, in the subjugation of the Gakhar territory.

Afterwards, when Hindustan again came under the rule of the Imperial house, Kamal Khan followed the example of his predecessors, and paid his allegiance. He was treated with princely favour, and received a grant of the *parganas* of Hanswa, Fathpur, and Karra Manikpur as a *jagir*. There he remained until Sher Khan, the son of Salim Khan, attacked 'Ali Kuli Khan, and endeavoured to get possession of these districts. Kamal Khan was then ordered to support 'Ali Kuli Khan, and he exhibited such courage and resolution that he was graciously told that whatever request he liked to make should be granted. Kamal Khan in his love for his native land, begged that he might be restored to his parental inheritance. A *farman* was accordingly issued that of the territories formerly held by Sultan Sarang, and now in the possession of Adam Khan Gakhar, one half should be given to Kamal Khan, and the other half should remain in the possession of Adam Khan. Orders were accordingly issued to the *amirs* of the Panjab, to Mir Muhammad Khan, known as *Khan-i Kalan*,[220] and to Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, that if Adam Khan made any resistance to the arrangement, they were to take the whole of the territory from him, and give it to Kamal Khan.

When the *amirs* informed Adam Khan of the purport of the *farmans*, he and his son and his army were dissatified, and paid no heed to the command. A royal army marched into the

[220] *He was the elder brother of Atka Khan, 'Khan-i'azam'. Kutbu-d din was a younger brother. They belonged to the 'Atka-khail.' See note, supra. Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' pp. 322 and 333.*

country of the Gakhars to subdue it, and Adam Khan and his son resisted. Some sharp fighting followed, but the Gakhars were defeated, and Adam Khan was made prisoner. His son, with the defeated army, fled into Kashmir, but after some time he also was taken prisoner.[221] All the Gakhar territory then came under the power of the Imperial officers, and they made it over to Kamal Khan. The *amirs* also placed Adam Khan and his son in charge of Kamal Khan, and departed to their own *jagirs*. Kamal Khan kept Adam Khan near him until he died.

Affairs of Mu'nim Beg (At Kabul)

When Mu'nim Khan left Kabul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khan *Akhta-begi* was left there as governor, but on Mu'nim Khan being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kabul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghani Khan, in his place. He also sent back his nephew Abu-l Fath Beg, son of his brother Fazail Beg, to assist Ghani Khan in his government. After a time Mah Chochak Begam and the people of Kabul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghani Khan.[222] Among other acts he kept in confinement Tolak Khan Kuchin, one of the oldest servants of the dynasty, until the people interfered and set him at liberty. Tolak Khan then went to the village of Mama-khatun, which was his *jagir*, and there waited his opportunity. It happened that a caravan from Balkh came and halted in the village of Charikaran, and Ghani Khan went forth in haste to meet it. Tolak Khan assembled a body of his servants and adherents, and making a rapid night march fell upon Ghani Khan,[223] and made him prisoner. At length some persons intervened, and obtained

[221] *Both father and son were placed in the custody of Kamal Khan. The father was kept in confinement till his death; the son was put to death.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., (The episode about the Gakhars seems to have been omitted from the printed edition of the Akbar-nama).*

[222] *"He was wanting in sense and suavity."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 231.*

[223] *While he was drunk and asleep.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 233.*

the freedom of Ghani Khan. They took from him a treaty and covenant that he would never again molest Tolak Khan, but before Ghani Khan got back to Kabul, he broke his covenant, and marched against Tolak Khan with a strong force. Tolak Khan, however, was apprised of the movement, and fled to the Court of the Emperor. Ghani Khan pursued him in vain for some distance, and then returned to Kabul.

Some little while afterwards Ghani Beg went out one day for a stroll in the melon gardens, and the opportunity was seized by (Mah Chochak Begam) the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim,[224] in concert with Shah Wali Atka, Mirza Fazail Beg and his son Abu-l Fath Beg, to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghani Khan. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghani Khan understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. She appointed Mirza Fazail[225] Beg, whom Mirza Kamran had blinded, to the office of minister (*wakalat*) and his son Abu-l Fath Beg was made his deputy. But when in the distribution of the *jagirs* and villages he (Abu-l Fath) reserved the best for himself, and appropriated the worst to the prince and his attendants, Shah Wali Atka, Ali Muhammad Asp, and others, could not brook his unjust allotment. In communication with the mother of the prince, they determined to remove him. One night Abu-l Fath came to the door of his house in a state of intoxication and went down. Miran Beg having seen this, despatched him with one blow upon the head with his sword. His father, Fazail Beg, endeavoured to escape into the Hazara, but some of the adherents of the prince went in pursuit, and overtook and beheaded him. Shah Wali Beg Atka, with the approval of the mother of the prince, assumed

[224] *Son of the Emperor Humayun, then about ten years of age.—Badauni.*

[225] *Abu-l Fazl calls him "Fazil Beg," and says that although he was blind "in matters of craft and contumacy, his whole body was eyes." He adds that he interfered with his nephew in his duties as governor.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 231.*

the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Adil Shah.

When the report of these occurrences reached the ears of the Emperor, he appointed Mu'nim Khan governor of Kabul and guardian (*atalik*) of the young prince Mirza Muhammad. He also appointed Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Husain Khan, brother of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, Timur Beg Uzbek. and several other nobles to assist and support him. The mother of the young prince, who was then ten years of age, assembled all the forces she could, and taking the prince with her, she went with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalalabad, known in old times by the name of Jusai. There she awaited Mu'nim Khan, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kabul, and suspecting the designs of Shah 'Ali Atka against her, she caused him to be put to death, and Haidar Kasim Kohbar was named *wakil* of the *mirza* in his stead.

Affairs of Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain

Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain was son of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din, son of Kwaja Jawid Mahmud, son of Khwaja 'Abdu-lla, who was a distinguished man among the *Khwajas*, and was the son of Nasiru-d din 'Abdu-lla Ahrar.[226] When the Mirza came to Court, he was promoted to the dignity of *Amiru-l umara*, and received the *jagir* of Nagor. There he was distinguished by his energtic lábours. His father now returned from Mecca, and received a right royal reception. After a while Mirza Sharaf, by the will of fate, and without any apparent reason or cause, having had his mind perverted by designing men, fled towards Nagor.[227] Hazrat Husain Kuli Beg, son of Wali Beg Zu-l kadar, a relation of the late Khan-khanan Bairam Khan, having on account of his services been admitted to the order of nobility, and dignified

[226] *See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 322.*
[227] *"Towards Ajmir and Nagor, which were his jagirs."—Akbar-nama. vol. ii., p. 247.*

with the title of *khan*, now received a grant of *jagir* of Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain. Some of the principal nobles, as Muhammad Sadik, Muhammad Kuli *Tugh-bani*, Muzaffar Mughal and Mirak Bahadur, were driected to support Husain Kuli Beg, and the command was given for them to pursue and capture Mirza Sharafu-d din. If he repented of his unrighteous deeds, they were to soothe him and bring him to Court ; but if not, they were to use their best exertions to punish his misconduct. When intelligence of the approach of Husain Kuli Beg Khan reached Mirza Sharafu-d din, he left Tarkhan Diwana, a trusty adherent, in Ajmir, and went off towards Jalor.[228] The Imperial forces invested Ajmir, and after two or three days Tarkhan Diwana capitulated.[229] The nobles then hastened in pursuit of Sharafu-d din towards Jalor.

It so happened that just as Sharafu-d din reached Jalor, Shah Abu-l Ma'ali was returning from Mecca to the Imperial Court, and having had a meeting with Sharafu-d din, they concocted together a rébellious scheme. Abu-l Ma'ali, was to march against the people of Husain Kuli Khan, who were in Hajipur,[230] and having disposed of him was to push on to Kabul and bring Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Hindustan. Sharafu-d din on his side was to do all he could to promote a rebellion. Abu-l Ma'ali marched off, taking with him a party of Sharafu-d din's men, and when he approached Hajipur, he learned that Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg, relations of Husain Kuli Khan, had come out to stop him. Thereupon he turned in the direction of Narnaul, and upon reaching the fort of that place he made Mir Kisu the *shikkdar* prisoner, and seized all the money which he found in the treasury and divided it among his followers.[231]

[228] *Both MSS, have "Nagor", but Abu-l Fazl says "towards Jalor, which he had got into his power," and the context shows him to be right.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 248.*

[229] *The fort of Mirtha also fell into the hands of the Imperial general.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 248.*

[230] *Husain Kuli had left his wives and family there.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 248.*

[231] *"And plundered the town."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 252.*

After receiving intelligence of this, Husain Kuli Khan sent his brother Ismail Kuli Khan along with Muhammad Sadik Khan in pursuit of Abu-l Ma'ali. Upon reaching Hajipur, and learning that Abu-l Ma'ali had drawn off to Narnaul, they took Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg with them, and went in pursuit of him. Twelve *kos* from Narnaul, the brother of Abu-l Ma'ali, who was named Khan-zada (Muhammad), and was also called Shah Lundan, left his *jagir*, and was on the way to join his brother, but he was intercepted and made prisoner. Abu-l Ma'ali fled from Narnaul and went towards the Panjab. Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg were sent off with a detachment in hot haste after him. A body of the men under their command had formerly served under Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain and these men had found themselves by an oath to desert Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg whenever Abu-l Ma'ali should be attacked, and to go over to the latter. One of this party, Dana Kuli by name, slipped away and hastened to inform Abu-l Ma'ali of the conspiracy. Upon hearing it he placed himself in ambush in a jungle by the side of the road, and when the two Begs came up he fell upon them unawares. The conspirators then drew their swords, and advanced against their own commanders, and the other soldiers, seeing how matters stood, took to flight. Ahmad Beg and Sikandar were left quite alone. They fought most manfully, and killed several of their assailants, but were eventually slain.

His Majesty was engaged in a hunting excursion at Mathura when the news of this disaster reached him. He sent Bidagh Khan, Tatar Khan, Rumi Khan, and others, to follow Abu-l Ma'ali, and he himself proceeded to Dehli, the seat of Government (*daru-l mulk*).[232]

A remarkable occurrence has now to be mentioned. When Sharafu-d din Husain fled from Court to Nagor, he had a slave, by name Koka Fulad, one of the slaves of his father, who at all times secretly did everything in his power to injure the Emperor. This wretched man came into the royal camp, and

[232] *He arrived there on the 25th Jumada-l awwal.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 254.*

was constantly on the watch for an opportunity. When the Emperor returned from the hunting excursion, and passing through the bazar of Dehli, came near to the College[233] of Maham Anka, this bloodthirsty fellow shot an arrow at His Majesty; but by the Mercy of God, who watched over the Emperor's safety, it did not inflict a severe wound, but merely grazed the skin. The attendants of the Emperor instantly fell upon the traitor, and with strokes of sword and dagger they sent him to hell. The Emperor pulled out the arrow and rode on to the palace. The wound was cured in a few days, and on the 6th Jumada-s sani he mounted his royal litter,[234] and proceeded to Agra, where he arrived on the 15th of the same month, in the year 971 A.H., agreeing with the eighth year of the reign.

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year was Wednesday, 29th Rajab, 971 (13th March, 1564). When Abu-l Ma'ali killed Ahmad Beg, and found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct roads he fled towards Kabul. When he approached Kabul, he wrote a letter full of expressions of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Mah Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abu-l Ma'ali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakim.

A party of malcontents, who were displaced with the treatment they had received from Mah Chocak Begam, such as Shkugun, son of Karracha Khan, and Shadman, and others, leagued with Abu-l Ma'ali, and persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with

233 *Abu-l Fazl agrees and says that the man stood near the College (Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 255)*; but Badauni *(vol. ii., p. 62) says that the arrow was shot from the roof of the College. He agrees that the wound was merely superficial (post-mal), not the sever wound, "nearly a span deep," which Abu-l Fazl and Firishta describe.*

234 *sakasan. The Hindi 'sinhhasan' "throne.."*

their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into his hands the Prince Mirza Muhammad Hakim who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government. He seized upon Haidar Kasim Kohbar, who was the minister (*wakil*) of the Mirza, and put him to death. He also imprisoned his brother Muhammad Kasim. Hereupon Tardi Muhammad Khan, Baki Muhammad Khan Kakshal, Husain Khan, and several other adherents of the late Begam, conspired against him to avenge her death. 'Abdi Sarmast informed Abu-l Ma'ali of this conspiracy, and he instantly armed a party of his supporters, and went forth to destroy them. The conspirators cut their way into the fort, and Abu-l Ma'ali pressed after them. Many on both sides were killed, but at length Abu-l Ma'ali succeeded in driving them out of the fort, and they fled in all directions.

Muhammad Kasim, who was in confinement, obtained his release and went to Mirza Sulaiman, in Badakhshan. He informed him of all that had passed at Kabul, and urged him to march against the city. Mirza Muhammad Hakim also sent a person to Mirza Sulaiman, calling upon him for assistance The Mirza on hearing the state of affairs, assembled the forces of Badakhshan, and with the approval of Khurram Begam his wife, marched against Kabul. Abu-l Ma'ali, on his side, assembled the forces of Kabul, and taking with him Mirza Muhammad Hakim, advanced to the river Ghorband. Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. The Kabul men on the right of Abu-l Ma'ali were defeated by the Badakhshan forces, and began to retreat. He hastened up with some reinforcements to support them, leaving Mirza Muhammad Hakim in charge of his servants. These men seized the opportunity to cross the river and join Mirza Sulaiman. When this was discovered by the Kabul forces, they were seized with panic and every man fled to his home.

When Abu-l Ma'ali came back from his charge, he was dismayed to find no trace either of Mirza Hakim or of his army, so he fled. The Badakhkshan men pursued and overtook him at the village Charikaran. He was brought to the presence of

Mirza Sulaiman, who, elated with his success, went on to Kabul, taking Mirza Muhammad Hakim with him. Three days afterwards he sent Abu-l Ma'ali, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th Ramazan, 970 H. Mirza Sulaiman now sent to Badakhshan for his daughter, and married her to Mirza Muhammad Hakim. After giving *jagirs* in the Kabul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Ummaid 'Ali, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshan.

In the course of this year, Khwaja Muzaffar Ali Tarbati, one of the old associates of Khan-khanan Bairam Khan, was raised to the office of financial minister (*wazarat-i diwan-i 'ala*), and received the title of *Khan.*[235]

CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF CHUNAR

The fort of Chunar was held by a slave of 'Adali, named Fattu. He now wrote a letter offering to surrender it.[236] The Emperor sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Asaf Khan to receive the surrender of the fort. When it was delivered over, they placed it in charge of Husain Khan Turkomam. At this Ghazi Khan Sur, formerly one of the nobles of 'Adali, but who had for a time lived in allegiance to the Emperor, now that Asaf Khan was appointed to the government of Karra, took flight, and went to the country of Panna. There he gathered some men, and arrayed himself in rebellion. When Asaf Khan was sent to Karra, Ghazi Khan led his followers against him, but he was defeated in battle by Asaf Khan, and killed upon the field. Asaf Khan thus established his power and authority.

[235] *Abu-l Fazl places this appointment at the beginning of the eighth year.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 250. See 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 348.*

[236] *Abu-l Fazl places this surrender in the sixth year of the reign. The Emperor, on his return from Karra, deputed Asaf Khan to besiege the fort, and this frightened Fattu into submission.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 190.*

The country of Garha-Katanka was near to Asaf Khan, and he formed the design of subduing it.[237] The chief place of that country is Chauragarh. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousand (*haftad hazar*) flourishing villages.[238] Its ruler was at this time a woman named Durgavati, who was very beautiful. When Asaf Khan heard the condition of this country, he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter, so he marched against it with fifty thousand[239] horse and foot. The Rani collected all her forces, and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A battle followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, but by the will of fate the Rani was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory Asaf Khan marched against Chauragarh. The son of the Rani, who was in the for', came forth to meet him; but he was killed, and the fort was captured, and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors. Asaf Khan, after he had achieved this victory and acquired so much treasure, returned greatly elated, to Karra, and took possession of his government.

JOURNEY OF THE EMPEROR TO NARWAR

On the 12th Zi-l ka'da 971 H., corresponding with the ninth year of the reign, the Emperor left Agra, and went towards the river Chambal with the object of elephant hunting.[240] In consequence of the heavy rains and the inundations, he had to halt fifteen days, and when he did cross over one of his choice

[23] *See Extract from the 'Akbar-nama', infra.*

[238] *Abu-l Fazl, Badauni, and Faizi all agree in this number, but it is a manifest error.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 264.*

[239] *The MSS. differ widely. One of them says five thousand, the other two fifty thousand. There are other discrepancies. Two of the MSS. omit the word "innumerable," making the Rani's force to be 20,000 horse and foot;" but they agree in the incredible "700 elephants." Firishta, moreover, gives "1,500 elephants and 8,000 horse and foot.—See Extract from the "Tarikh-i Alfi." Supra.*

[240] *According to Abu-l Fazl, the real object was to check the proceedings of 'Abdu-lla Khan.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 279.*

elephants named Lakhna was drowned. When he came to the vicinity of the town of Narwar he pitched his camp, for the jungle hard by was an elephant haunt....After they had cleared that neighbourhood of elephants, he marched on towards Malwa, and halted at Rewar.[241] Heavy rains compelled him to remain two days in sight of that town. From thence he proceeded to Sarangpur, and again the heavy rains and floods greatly distressed his escort. When he approached Sarangpur, Muhammad Kasim Khan Naishapuri the governor came forth to meet him and presented tribute. Next day the Emperor proceeded onwards towarde Mandu.

'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek was governor of Mandu, and as there were sundry differences between him and the Emperor, he was greatly alarmed at his approach, and consequently fled off towards Gujarat. When the Emperor was informed of his flight, he sent Mukim Khan, one of his chief nobles, to 'Abdul-lla, to advise and reassure him. Although Mukim Khan urged and persuaded, his words had no effect, for 'Abdu-lla thought that the object of the Khan was to detain him with words and stories till the royal forces had arrived and secured the roads. So he left Mukim Khan and fled ; and the Khan went back and reported his want of success.

The Emperor's anger was roused, and he gave orders for a force to be sent to arrest 'Abdu-lla's progress. The Emperor himself followed, and on reaching Mandu intelligence arrived that his advanced force was engaged in action with 'Abdu-lla, so he pressed on with all speed. When 'Abdu-lla saw that some of his most faithful followers had fallen, and heard that the Emperor was near at hand, he left his baggage and soldiers and hastened off. The Imperial forces pursued him as far as the country of Ali,[242] on the confines of Gujarat, and drove him away from his wives and elephants. He then went to Changiz Khan in Gujarat. This Changiz Khan was a slave of Sultan Mahmud

[241] *A very doubtful name.*

[242] *"The country of A'l, a large territory (mamlukat) in Malwa."— T. Alfi.*

of Gujarat, after whose death he had obtained the government of the country. The royal forces which had captured the horses and elephants and wives of 'Abdu-lla then turned back to Ali, where they were received with honour.

The Imperial army then moved, and on the new moon of Zi-l hijja, 971 H., reached Mandu. The *zamindars* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Miran Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farman* was sent to Miran Mubarak Shah directing him to send any one of his daughters whom he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor. 'Itimad Khan was also sent along with the ambassadors. When Mubarak Shah received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so. Whilst the Emperor remained at Mandu, Khan Kuli,[243] a servant of 'Abdu-lla Khan, who was now in Hindia[244] and Mukarrab Khan one of the nobles of the Dekhin, in compliance with the royal command, came in with their followers, and had an audience. Mukim Khan, who had exhibited vigour and ability in this expedition, received the title of Shuja' Khan.

In Muharram, 972 (August, 1564) the Imperial camp moved from Mandu, and was pitched in sight of the town of Nalcha.[245] Karra Bahadur Khan was appointed governor of Mandu, and an order was made directing a party of the Imperial followers who remained behind in Mandu to stay in that province along with Karra Bahadur, and zealously serve His Majesty. Two days after, the camp moved towards Agra, and upon reaching Ujjain, it remained there four days, in consequence of heavy rain. In four days' march from thence it reached Sarangpur, and in a week afterwards it arrived at the *pargana*

[243] *"Jan 'Ali."—T. Alfi.*

[244] *"On the borders of Malwa."—T. Alfi. It lies on the left bank of the Nerbadda.*

[245] *Five or six miles north of Mandu.*

of Kherar, within sight of the town. By regular stages it reached Sipri. Here the scouts brought in news of a herd of elephants, in which there was one very large animal.[246] The royal servants went in chase of them, and captured the whole of them. Proceeding by way of Narwar and Gwalior, the Emperor reached Agra on the 3rd Rabi'u-l awwal. In the course of this year the Emperor had twins borne to him, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain ; but they lived only a month.

After His Majesty returned from Mandu, and while he was enjoying himself at Agra, he often rode out to Kakrani,[247] a village in the vicinity of the capital, which was remarkable for the purity of its air and the excellence of its water. He deemed this a suitable site for a palace, so he ordered one to be built. In a short time fine houses arose, and a great town sprung up, which was called Nagar-chin.

ACCOUNT OF KHWAJA MU'AZZAM

Khwaja Mu'azzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor. He was son of 'Ali Akbar, and a descendant of Shaiku-l Islam Ahmad Jam. This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humayun, who had felt constrained to speak about and censure his offences to his son and successor. His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him, whereupon he went to Gujarat. From thence he proceeded to Mecca, and after staying there some time he returned to the Court of Humayun. Upon the demise of the crown, Bairam Khan Khan-khanan became the ruling power in the State, and he, knowing the character of the Khwaja, procured an order for his exile. After his banishment, the Khwaja stayed for a while in Gujarat, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khan then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace

[246] *"In the present day there are not such forests near Sipri as to afford shelter for droves of elephants."—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii., p. 216.*

[247] *"Lagrani" in one MS.; Badauni (vol. ii., p. 80) has "Gahrawali," Gulrani.—T. Alfii. Kalkarani.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 298.*

of Bairam Khan, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwaja and gave him some districts in *jagir*. But the Khwaja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one—There was a woman named Fatima attached to the harem of the late Emperor, and the Khwaja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Agha. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting excursion, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwaja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khan *Mir-i faraghat* and Rustam Khan to give the Khwaja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwaja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river.[248] After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, where he died in confinement.

MIRZA SULAIMAN'S THIRD VISIT TO KABUL

It has been before narrated how Mirza Sulaiman came to the rescue of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and how, after overthrowing Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, he gave *jagirs* to his own adherents, and then returned home. Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshanis, drove them out of Kabul. Mirza Sulaiman then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion. Mirza Muhammad Hakim left Baki Kakshal in command of his followers at Kabul, and went off himself to Jalalabad and Parshawar. Upon reaching

[248] *Abu-l Fazl says the Emperor had him and his vile associates bound hand and foot and cast into the river. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 276.*

the river Maran,[249] Mirza Sulaiman learnt how Mirza Muhammad Hakim had abandoned Kabul, and gone to Jalalabad.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim went on from Parshawar, to the shores of the Indus, and from thence forwarded to the Emperor a letter containing a statement of his grievances. Mirza Sulaiman, on learning that Mirza Muhammad Hakim had made an appeal to the Emperor, and had left Parshawar, stationed one of his adherents named Kambar with three hundred men at Jalalabad, and went towards Kabul.

When the statement of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and *jagirdars* of the Panjab (such as Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas Khan-i Kalan, Kutubu-d din Muhammad Khan, Kamal Khan Gakhar and others) to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. These nobles, in obedience to the command, proceeded to the Indus, and joined Muhammad Hakim. Then they began their march to recover Kabul. On reaching Jalalabad they sent Mirza Kasan into the place to summon Kambar, Mirza Sulaiman's representative, to surrender; but that doomed one would not submit, so the Imperial forces attacked the fort. They took it in an hour, and put Kambar and all his three hundred men to the sword. Two men were allowed to go and carry the intelligence to Mirza Sulaiman, and the head of Kambar, with the news of the capture of the city, was sent to Baki Kakshal at Kabul.

Mirza Sulaiman, on hearing of the fall of Jalalabad, and the approach of the royal forces, fled to Badakhshan. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, escorted by the Imperial nobles, returned to Kabul, and again assumed the Government. The nobles, in obedience to the orders which they had received from the Emperor, then returned to their *jagirs*, excepting Khan-i Kalan, who had been appointed guardian of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Shortly afterwards the Mirza without consulting Khan-i Kalan, gave his sister, who had formerly been married to Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, to be the wife of Khwaja Husain Nakshabandi, a descend-

[249] *One MS. says simply "the river".*

ant of Khwaja Bahau-d din. Presuming upon the importance he had acquired by this marriage, the Khwaja began to interfere in the affairs of the Mirza, and to call Khan-i Kalan to account. The Khan was a hot-tempered man, and would not endure this, so he left Kabul, and went to Lahore without taking leave. Then he made a report of what had occurred to the Emperor.

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Sha'ban, 972 H. (11 March, 1565 A.D.). At the beginning of this year His Majesty wished to go elephant hunting. Scouts were accordingly sent out to seek for the animals, and to report when they found them. On the 1st Rajab, 972, the Emperor himself started for Narwar and Garha by way of Dhulpur. Upon reaching Narwar, he pitched his camp. The scouts then reported that there were several herds of elephants in the neighbouring jungles. His Majesty speedily went to the jungle, and returned after capturing all the elephants. Another day the scouts brought news to the camp that there were many elephants in a desert about eight *kos* distant. The royal servants started off, and towards the close of the day they found the animals, every one of which they captured. They drove them towards the fort of Panwa, where they arrived in the middle of the night. Three hundred and fifty elephants were taken that day. From thence they returned to the royal camp, which was in the vicinity of Garha. There it remained nearly twenty days. The hot season now came on, and the unhealthy winds blew and many men in the camp became weak and ill, so His Majesty returned to Agra.

BUILDING OF THE FORT OF AGRA

In this year the command was given for building a new fort of hewn stone at Agra, instead of the old citadel, which was of brick, and had vecome ruinous. The foundation was accordingly laid, and in four years, the fortress was completed.[250] In these

[250] *The work was carried on under the direction of Kasim Khan Mir-i barr o bahr, and was completed in eight years.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 311.*

days it has no equal in the world. The walls are ten *gaz* in thickness, and are built of stone and mortar. The stones are cut on both sides and are joined with the greatest nicety. The height of the fort is more than forty *gaz*. There is a moat dug all round, and faced on both sides with stone and mortar. It is twenty *gaz* wide and ten *gaz* deep, and water is conducted into it from the river Jumna. The cost of this building was nearly three *krors* of *tankas*.[251] The date of foundation of its gates is found in the words "*binai dar-i bihisht*" (974 H.).

REBELLION OF 'ALI KULI KHAN-ZAMAN, IBRAHIM PHAN, AND SIKANDAR KHAN

In consequence of the severe proceedings against 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, which have been narrated above, an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbeks. When the Emperor went to Narwar elephant hunting, Ashraf Khan *Mir-Munshi* was sent to Sikandar Khan, to conciliate him with gracious promises of the Emperor's favour, and to bring him to court. As Ashraf Khar approached Oudh, which was the *jagir* of Sikandar Khan, the latter came out to meet him, and conducted him to his house with all due ceremony. He submitted to the Emperor's command, and acted as if he meant to go to Court. But after some days he said to Ashraf Khan, "Ibrahim Khan is a much greater man than I, and he is in this neighbourhood; the best thing we can do is to go to him, and get him to acquiesce in your demand. We will then go to Court together." Upon this understanding they went to the town of Sarawar,[252] which was the *jagir* of Ibrahim Khan.

When Sikandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan met, they took

[251] *An assessment in money amounting to the value of three 'sirs' of grain per 'jarib' of land was imposed, and collectors and officers (tawachi) were appointed to realize it from the 'jagirdars'.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 74.*

[252] *"Surharpur."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 75. Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 314. Surharpur is in the 'sarkar' of Jaunpur.—Elliot's Glossary, vol. ii., p. 112.*

counsel together, and resolved to consult with 'Ali Kuli Khan, who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country. In pursuance of this resolution, and with the concurrence of Ashraf Khan, they proceeded to Jaunpur, the *jagir* of Khan-zaman. After consultation their judgment was adverse to the course proposed, and they determined to rebel. They improperly detained Ashraf Khan, and then broke into open rebellion. Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khan-zaman and his brother went to Karra Manikpur, and there began their revolt.

Shaham Khan Jalair, Shah Bidagh Khan, Amir Khan, Muhammad Amin Diwana, Sultan Kuli Khaldar, with all the *jagirdars* of his neighbourhood, Shah Tahir Badakhshi, the brother of Shah Khalilu-lla, and other nobles, being informed of these rebellious proceedings, marched out against the rebels, and fought against them. In the curse of the fighting Muhammad Amin fell from his horse, and was made prisoner by the rebels. Shaham Khan and Bidagh Khan exerted themselves most strenuously, but as the forces of the rebels more than doubled their own, they were obliged to retreat and shut themselves up in the fort of Namikha,[253] from whence they sent an account to the Emperor.

Khan-zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan now showed their dispositions, and began to plunder the country in their neighbourhood. Majnun Khan Kakshal,[254] the *jagirdar* of that quarter, shut himself up in the fort of Manikpur. He sent to inform Asaf Khan Khwaja 'Abdu-l Majid, governor of Garha, of the state of affairs, and summoned him to his side. Leaving a detachment in charge of the country of Garha, Asaf Khan proceeded with a strong force to Karra, which was his own *jagir*. There he divided, as a bounty among the soldiers, the treasures

[253] *Var. "Namakha." "Nim-kahar."—Badauni. "Nimkar."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 315.*

[254] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p., 369.*

of Chauragarh which had fallen into his hands. He also sent a large sum to Majnun Khan. Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan took a bold course, and went forth to confrnt the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position.

When the statements of the *amirs* reached the Emperor at his encampment, he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan to march in advance with a strong force, and to cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwal he crossed over the Jumna, and marched to chastise the rebels. Upon approaching Kanauj, Mu'nim Khan came forth to meet him, bringing with him Kiya Khan Gang, who had joined the rebels, and begged forgiveness for him. The Emperor pardoned his crime, and restored him to his former position. He remained ten days waiting for an opportunity to cross the river.

When the waters subsided, intelligence was brought that Sikandar Khan, heedless of what was to happen, was still in Lucknow. Thereupon His Majesty left Khwaja Jahan, Muzaffar Khan and Mu'in Khan in charge of the camp, while he himself started off at midnight with a valiant body of men to march against the rebel with all speed. That night and the next day he struggled through all obstacles without taking rest, and on the following morning came in sight of Sikandar at Lucknow. As soon as Sikandar heard of his approach, he hastily abandoned Lucknow and fled. The horses of the Emperor's force were quite worn out with fatigue, so Sikandar made his escape, and went off unmolested to Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan. They also were now alarmed, and retreated from before Asaf Khan to Jaunpur. They marched from thence, and sending forward their adherents, they crossed the river at the ferry of Narhan, and halted on the other side of the river.

The Emperor sent on Yusuf Muhammad Khan[255] in advance from Lucknow, and himself followed close after him.

[255] *Son of the late Atka Khan.*

He encamped in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, and there Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan came to pay their respects, and were graciously received. Asaf Khan brought with him some costly offerings, which were accepted. Next day his army, which had been got together by means of the treasures of Garha, and numbered five thousand horse, was drawn out in the plain and reviewed by His Majesty, who expressed his royal satisfaction. On Friday, the 12th Zi-l hijja, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpur. Orders were given to Asaf Khan and other great nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where 'Ali Kuli Khan and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels, and act according to circumstances. Asaf Khan, in obedience to orders, crossed the Ganges with the force under his command.

Between 'Ali Kuli Khan-zaman and Sulaiman Kirani Afghan, ruler of Bengal, there was a strong alliance and identity of interest; it was therefore deemed expedient to send an envoy to Sulaiman, in order to forbid his rendering assistance to Khan-zaman. Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani, a man remarkable for prudence, was accordingly sent. When he reached the fort of Rohtas, some Afghan chiefs, who were in league with 'Ali Kuli Khan, arrested him and sent him to 'Ali Kuli. The Haji was on very friendly terms with the Khan, who was greatly pleased to see him, and did his utmost to treat him with respect and honour. The Khan thought it advisable to make the Haji the medium of seeking forgiveness for his offences, and determined to send his mother along with the Haji to make intercession at Court. The result of this proceeding will be hereafter narrated.

ORISSA

The Raja of Orissa, one of the divisions of the province of Bengal, was a powerful chief, and kept a strong hand over all the surrounding country. The Emperor sent Husain Khan Khazanchi and Mahapatar, who was an accomplished master of Hindi music, on an embassy to the Raja, holding out great

promises of favour and distinction to induce him to prevent Sulaiman Khan Afghan from rendering any assistance to 'Ali Kuli Khan. After honourably entertaining Husain Khan and Mahapatar for four months, he sent them back to Court with several fine elephants and other splendid presents. This country of Orissa is an extensive territory, of which the capital is Jagannath—Jagannath being an idol which gives name and renown to the city.

FLIGHT OF ASAF KHAN TO GARHA

After Asaf Khan had joined the Emperor and shown his forces, Muzaffar Khan showed hostility towards him, and induced some persons to bring charges against him in respect of the plunder of Garha. He himself also alarmed Asaf Khan with some significant observations. This filled the heart of Asaf Khan with suspicion and anxiety. When he was made commander of the forces, and was sent against 'Ali Kuli Khan, he seized the opportunity, and at midnight went off with his brother Wazir Khan, and his party, towards Karra. Next day the chief nobles, without delay, communicated the fact of his flight to the Emperor, and the Emperor appointed Mu'nim Khan to succeed him in the command. He also sent Shuja'at Khan with a detachment in pursuit of Asaf Khan, to chastise him for his conduct. When Shuja'at Khan reached Manikpur, he found that Asaf Khan had gone to Karra, and intended to proceed from thence to Garha-Katanka.[256] Shuja'at Khan embarked his men in boats, intending to cross the river and Asaf Khan, being informed of this, turned back to the river-bank, and reached it as the boats arrived. A great struggle ensued, in which Asaf Khan succeeded in preventing the landing of Shuja'at Khan, who was obliged to return to his own side at nightfall. In the course of the night, Asaf Khan resumed his flight, and next morning Shuja'at Khan crossed the river in pursuit; but finding the attempts to overtake him hopeless, he fell back and rejoined the Emperor at Jaunpur.

[256] *Near Jabalpur, in Central India. See a note in Blochmann's 'Ain-l Akbari,' vol. i., p. 367.*

MISSION OF KALIJ KHAN TO THE FORT OF ROHTAS

This fort is situated in Bihar, and in height and strength excels all the fortresses of Hindustan. The surface of the hill upon which the fort is built is more than fourteen *kos* in length, and its width is three *kos*, and the height from the plain to the battlements is about half a *kos*.[257] From the time of Sher Khan Afghan it remained in the hands of the Afghans, until the time when Sulaiman Kirani became ruler of Bengal. Fath Khan Battani then seized upon it, and refused to submit to Sulaiman. In the year 972 H., Sulaiman collected an army, and in the expectation of the help of 'Ali Kuli Khan marched against Rohtas, and laid siege to it.

When the Imperial forces marched in that direction against Khan-zaman, Fath Khan, seizing upon this favourable chance,[258] sent his brother Husain Khan to the Emperor with rich presents, and with a message in which he said that the fort belonged to the Emperor, and that he would send him the keys as soon as the Imperial camp was pitched at Jaunpur. Sulaiman, on being informed of the approach of the Imperial forces, raised the siege. Fath Khan being thus relieved of his adversary, brought into the fort all the provisions he could collect. Repenting of having sent his brother on the mission, he now wrote to him directions to make his escape, and come into the fort, which was well stored. When the Emperor encamped at Jaunpur, Husain Khan requested that some one might be sent with him to receive the keys of the fort. Kalij Khan was accordingly sent to receive the keys from Fath Khan, and bring them to the Emperor. But when Kalij Khan reached Rohtas, Fath Khan affected to comply, and detained him some days. Kalij Khan at length discovered the duplicity of Fath Khan, and returned to Court unsuccessful.

[257] *Agriculture is carried on within the fortress, and water is so abundant that if a peg is driven into the ground, or a hole is dug for a fire, water is everywhere found.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 78.*

[258] *Abu-l Fazl says that Fath Khan having professed allegiance, the Emperor sent Kalij Khan to arrange matters. He was so far successful that Fath Khan sent his brother with Kalij Khan to wait upon Akbar.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 236.*

PROCEEDINGS OF 'ALI KULI KHAN (KHAN-ZAMAN)

When 'Ali Kuli Khan faced the Imperial forces at the ferry of Narhan, he sent his brother Bahadur Khan, in company with Sikandar Khan to the country of Sarwar,[259] in order to stir up a rebellion in that country. When this news reached His Majesty's ears, he issued orders for several of the chief nobles, such as Shah Bidagh Khan and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, Kiya Khan and . . . . to march against Sikandar and Bahadur Khan, under the command of Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk, who was a descendant of the Saiyids of Meshhed, and was renowned for his valour.[260]

It has been already mentioned that Khan-khanan (Mu'nim Khan) was sent to take the place of Asaf Khan in command of the army, which confronted Khan-zaman at the ferry of Narhan. Between Khan-khanan and Khan-zaman there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khan-zaman should wait upon Khan-khanan to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lingered on for four or five months, and warlike operations were suspended.

The Emperor then sent Khwaja-jahan and Darbar Khan to the army, to ascertain and report if this cessation of hostilities were advisable, and if not to order an immediate advance of the Imperial forces over the river against the rebels. When Khwaja-jahan and Darbar Khan reached the army, Khan-zaman resolved to profit by their arrival, and having offered his congratulations he brought forward his proposals of peace. After many communications and much correspondence, it was agreed that Khan-zaman and Ibrahim Khan on one side, and Khwaja Jahan and Darbar Khan on the other side, should have an inter-

[259] *So in the MSS., and so written also by Badauni and Abu-l Fazl. It would therefore seem to be another name of Surharpur. See note supra.*

[260] *Badauni (vol. ii.,]p. 79, 80) on the contrary, speaks of his incapacity, and is sarcastic about the impractical temper of the people of Meshhed. See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 381.*

view in boats in the middle of the river.[261] After a long discussion it was determined that Khan-zaman should send his mother, 'Ali Khan, and Ibrahim Khan his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offences. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khan and his brother and Sikandar Khan were to go to Court. Khan-zaman was also to send with his mother some elephants which he possessed. These matters being agreed upon, Khan-zaman returned to his camp. Khan-khanan and Khwaja-jahan wrote a statement of the settlement, and sent it by Darbar Khan to the Emperor. Next day 'Ali Kuli Khan sent his mother, and Ibrahim Khan, and the elephants in charge of Mir Hadi his *Sadr*, and Nizam Aka, one of his confidants. Khan-khanan and Khwaja-jahan took them and the elephants, and proceeded to Court to ask forgiveness for Khan-zaman.

Just at this time accounts arrived of the operations which Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk and the other nobles were carrying on against Bahadur Khan and Sikandar, whom Khan-zaman had sent to create disturbances and make a diversion in the *sarkar* of Sarwar. When intelligence of the approach of the royal forces reached them, they halted where they were, and sent persons to Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk to assure him that they had no wish to contend against him, and entreated him to be the mediator to obtain their forgiveness from the Emperor. They promised to send the elephant which they had as an offering, and to return to their duty upon pardon being vouchsafed to them. Mu'izu-l Mulk sent to say that their offences could be purified only by the sword. Bahadur Khan again sent a person to Mu'izu-l Mulk to propose that he should wait upon him, and discuss the matter. Mu'izu-l Mulk agreed to this, and went to the border of his camp, whither Bahadur Khan came to meet him, and to make his propositions of peace. But Mu'izu-l Mulk would hear of

[261] *Abu-l Fazl condemns Khan-khanan's simplicity, says that it was he who met Khan-zaman on the river and settled the terms of peace, and that at his recommendation the Emperor sent Khwaja-jahan to reassure Khan-zaman.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 326. But Badauni states (vol. ii., p. 79) that Khan-khanan and Khwaja-jahan went together to the meeting, attended by three or four others.*

nothing but war, so Bahadur Khan returned disappointed, and resolved to make ready for battle.

Lashkar Khan *Mir Bakhshi* and Raja Todar Mal[262] now arrived with reinforcements for the royal army,[263] and Bahadur Khan and Sikandar Khan renewed their proposals of peace, and asked for a delay until it was ascertained what answer was given by the Emperor to the mother of Khan-jahan and to Ibrahim Khan, who had been sent to sue for forgiveness. But Mu'izu-l Mulk was so eager for war[264] that he would not listen to their words, and so brought upon himself defeat.

Mu'izu-l Mulk drew out his forces for battle, and sent on his advanced guard under Muhammad Amin Diwana, Salim Khan, 'Abdul Matlab Khan, Beg Murin Khan, and other veteran soldiers; he himself took post with the main body. On the other side Sikandar had command of the advance, and Bahadur of the centre. In this order they advanced, and a warm action ensued. The royal forces defeated the advanced division under the command of Sikandar. Muhammad Yar, his son-in-law, was killed, and he himself fell back to the Black River, which was in his rear. Many of his soldiers were drowned in the river, and many others died by the sword. The victorious forces then broke up in search of plunder. Mu'izu-l Mulk, with a few men, kept his position, and Bahadur until now did not stir from his

262 *Raja Todar Mal, the celebrated financier and administrator, was a Khatri and a native of Lahore. His father died when the son was quite young, and left no provision for him. The young man entered life as a writer, but he soon rose from that humble position, and was employed by Sher Shah in superintending the erection of New Rohtas. It was under the able government of Sher Shah that his natural talents were trained and developed, so that he was afterwards of inestimable service to Akbar, and made a name which still remains famous. This is the first time the Tabakat mentions him, but henceforward he is one of the most prominent and active of all the able subordinates of Akbar. He died on the 11th day of the year 998 (10 Nov. 1589).*

263 *"They were sent to hasten on a decision either for peace or war." —Badauni, vol. ii., p. 80.*

264 *"Mu'iz was all fire, and Raja Todar Mal poured on oil and naphtha."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 80.*

post. But now he seized the favourable moment, attacked Mu'izu-l Mulk, and drove him from his position. Muhammad Baki Khan and other of the *amirs*, under pretence of securing the baggage, and some others, treacherously withdrew themselves and stamped themselves with disloyalty. Shah Bidagh Khan, observing the condition of affairs, hastened forward, and in the heat of the fight was unhorsed. His son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan rushed forward to rescue his father; but just at that juncture a party of the enemy made a charge and took Bidagh Khan prisoner, and it was only by dint of great exertion that 'Abdu-l Matlab made his escape. Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk was compelled to turn his back and flee. Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan, who were in reserve, struggled valiantly till night, and maintained their position; but as the centre had been driven away, their efforts were fruitless.

Next day all the defeated forces assembled in one place,[265] and made for Kanauj, after sending a report of the engagement to His Majesty.

It has already been related how Khan-khanan conducted the mother of Khan-zaman and Ibrahim Khan, with Mir Hadi Sadr and Nizam Aka, to the Court of the Emperor. Ibrahim Khan, with uncovered head and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khan-khanan entreated forgiveness. He urged that the services of Khan-zaman and his brother to the Imperial throne were manifest to all men, and the services they had rendered were invaluable. By the influence of their destiny they had now been guilty of an offence; but he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon the faults of such useful servants.

When this old servant thus besought forgiveness for past offences with a face full of hope, the Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khan-khanan, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain

[265] *"At Shergarh."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 72.*

faithful." Khan-khanan then inquired what the order was as regarded their *jagirs*, and His Majesty replied, "As I have pardoned their offences, what question can there be about their *jagirs*? But so long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakils* there, and *farmans* for their *jagirs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession." Khan-khanan cast a look of joy to heaven, and sent the good news of the pardon to the mother of Khan-zaman. By command of the Emperor, the sword and shroud were taken off the neck of Ibrahim Khan. Khan-zaman's mother immediately sent messengers to Sikandar and Bahadur Khan, to carry the glad tidings of the pardon, and to inspire them with hope. She also advised them to send directly to Court the elephants which they possessed. Sikandar and Bahadur were greatly delighted at this information, and sent the elephants called Koh-para and Saf-shikan, along with other gifts, to His Majesty.

At the same time the report arrived from Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan upon the action which had been fought, and upon the misconduct of some of the *amirs*, as above related. His Majesty had pardoned the offences (of Sikandar and Bahadur Khan), so he said, "their faults have been forgiven;" and to carry out his decision he sent orders to his *amirs* to return to Court. Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk, Raja Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khan, accordingly returned; but those who had acted disgracefully were forbidden to make their appearance for a time.

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunar, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpur to Benares, and there rested several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened. Here he was informed that there were many elephants in the jungles of Chunar, so he set off with a party of his attendants on a hunting expedition. At ten *kos* distance they found a herd, and having captured ten, they returned to the fort of Chunar, and from thence to the Imperial camp.

MARCH AGAINST 'ALI KULI KHAN-ZAMAN

It has been above related how Khan-zaman was pardoned, and his *jagirs* restored, upon condition that he did not pass over the river without permission. But when the Emperor had gone to Chunar, he crossed the river, and went to Muhammadabad, one of the dependencies of Jaunpur, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghazipur and Jaunpur. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of 'Ali Kuli Khan's and he said reproachfully to Khan-khanan, "No sooner had I quitted this neighbourhood than 'Ali Kuli Khan broke the conditions of his pardon." Khan-khanan looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

Orders were given for Ashraf Khan *Mir-bakhshi* to go to Jaunpur, and make prisoner the mother of 'Ali Kuli Khan, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpur. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of. Khwaja Jahan and Muzaffar Khan were to remain with the camp, and lead it by regular marches. The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against 'Ali Kuli Khan. Ja'far Khan, son of Karak Khan Turkoman, who had come from 'Irak, went to the fort of Ghazipur, intending to make a dash at it; but 'Ali Kuli Khan's people, who were in the fort, hearing of his intention, let themselves down from the walls on to the river Ganges, and went to Muhammadabad.

Khan-zaman, who was in that town, on being informed of what had occurred, hastened to make his escape by the water. When he reached the river Sarwar (Saru), some boats, laden with his property and effects, fell into the hands of the royal forces. A body of troops was sent across the river with orders to take no rest until they had secured Khan-zaman. The forces under the Emperor occupied the banks of the Sarwar (Saru), and after searching all the jungles, they found that Khan-zaman had gone off to the Siwalik hills.[266] News now arrived that

[266] *He proceeded first to the fort of Jalupara.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 335.*

Bahadur Khan had gone to Jaunpur,[267] and liberated his mother. He made Ashraf Khan prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp.[268] Upon learning this, the Emperor gave up the chase of Khan-zaman, and turned towards Jaunpur. The detachment also, which had been sent on in pursuit of him, returned and joined the Emperor. Sikandar and Bahadur Khan, being informed of this movement, made a retreat, and crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan.

In the month of Rajab, when the royal camp was near the *pargana* of Nizamabad, the annual *Majlis-i wazn* was held. Twice every year, on the Emperor's birthday, both according to the solar and lunar reckoning, the ministers and nobles weighed the Emperor against gold, silver and other things, which things were afterwards distributed among the poor and needy.[269]

The Emperor marched from Nizamabad to Jaunpur, where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built; and the nobles also were to build houses and palaces suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as 'Ali Kuli Khan and his brother should remain in the world, Jaunpur should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them. When 'Ali Kuli Khan heard of this, he left the Siwalik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower named Mirza Mubarak Rizwi[270] to Court with a message. This man went along with the mother of Khan-zaman to Khan-khanan, and delivered his message. Khan-khanan, with the assistance of Mir 'Abdu-l Latif, Mulla 'Abdu-lla Makhdumu-l Mulk, who was Shaikhu-l Islam of Hind, and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Nabi the *Sadr*, again made intercession

[267] *He took the fort by escalade.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 83.*

[268] *He levied contributions at Jaunpur, and afterwards, at Benares.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 336.*

[269] *This is a Hindu practice, and Badouni says (vol. ii., p. 84) the gold and other things were given to the brahmans and others.*

[270] *This was the title he afterwards acquired. He was at this time called Mirza Mirak.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 84.*

for Khan-zaman; and the Emperor in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences.

Khwaja-jahan, Mir Murtaza Sharifi, and Makhdumu-l Mulk were commanded to go to Khan-zaman, to reprove him, and to convey to him the glad tidings of his forgiveness. When the party reached the camp of Khan-zaman, he came forth to meet them, and conducted them with great honour to his dwelling. He detained them some time, and treated them most respectfully. Then as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the eleventh year of the reign, corresponding with 973 H.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 20th Sha'ban, 973 H. (12th March, 1566). The Court reached the capital Agra at the beginning of this year, on Friday, the 8th Ramazan. After a few days' rest and pleasure, the Emperor visited Nagar-chin, a fine building which he had founded. (*His pleasure in the game of chaugan; game played at night with fire-balls. Death of Muhammad Yusuf Khan Atka, Kokaltash of the Emperor, from excessive drinking*).

MARCH OF MAHDI KASIM KHAN TO GARHA, AND FLIGHT OF ASAF KHAN TO KHAN-ZAMAN

The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of 'Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels, Mahdi Kahim Khan, one of the old nobles of the Imperial house, was sent with 3,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Asaf Khan. Before Mahdi Kasim Khan arrived, Asaf Khan quitted the fort of Chauragarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter, full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on the pilgrimage.

Mahdi Kasim Khan, on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Asaf Khan, who then wrote letters to Khan-zaman, proposing to go and join him. Khan-zaman, wrote in reply; inviting him to come to him. Asaf Khan, deceived by this, went to Jaunpur, along with his brother Wazir Khan; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khan-zaman, and was sorry that he had come. Mahdi Kasim Khan, being in despair of capturing the fugitive, returned to Garha, and he sent back to Court the men who had been despatched to reinforce him.

Khan-zaman sent Asaf Khan along with Bahadur Khan to seize upon some territories which were in the hands of the Afghans; but he kept Wazir Khan near himself, and appointed men to watch him. Wazir Khan sent a person to Asaf Khan to say, "I intend to fly from this place at such and such a time: do you also in some way or other get away from Bahadur Khan." Asaf Khan accordingly, leaving all his baggage and property behind, went off in the night, and took the road to Karra-Manikpur. In the course of the night he travelled thirty *kos*, but Bahadur Khan pursued him, and overtook him between Jaunpur and Manikpur. A fight ensued, in which Asaf Khan was defeated and taken prisoner. Bahadur Khan threw him into a *howda* on an elephant, and went on his way, when Wazir Khan, who had got away from Khan-zaman, came up. Bahadur Khan, feeling that he was unable to cope with Wazir Khan, gave orders for putting Asaf Khan to death at once in the *howda*. Sword-cuts were aimed at Asaf Khan, three of his fingers were cut off, and he received a wound also in the nose; but Wazir Khan fought his way through, and rescued his brother. The two brothers then went to Karra, and Bahadur Khan returned without accomplishing his object. Wazir Khan proceeded to Court, and, through the intervention of Muzaffar Khan, he was admitted to an audience, and received pardon for his own and his brother's offences, while His Majesty was near Lahore, engaged in the pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and in hunting as will be related in their appropriate place. A *farman* of favour and conciliation was sent to Asaf Khan.

MIRZA SULAIMAN'S FOURTH ATTEMPT UPON KABUL

It has been related in a former page how Mirza Sulaiman led his army against Kabul, and how the Imperial forces were sent to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Mirza Sulaiman, unable to resist, retreated to Badakhshan and the Imperial nobles, having taken leave of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, returned to Hindustan. Sulaiman being now informed of the return of the Emperor's forces, assembled his army in Badakhshan, and marched with his wife Khurram Begam to effect the conquest of Kabul. Mirza Muhammad Hakim left Kabul in charge of Ma'sum Koka, who was in his confidence, and had a reputation for courage. He himself went with Khwaja Hasan Nakshabandi and the army into the valley of the Ghoraband. Mirza Sulaiman advanced to Kabul, and invested the fortress. When he found that he was not likely to capture it, he took counsel, and sent his wife Khurram Begam into Ghoraband to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, in order to delude him with a show of kindness and friendship, and to prevail over him by plausible representations. Khurram Begam accordingly left Mirza Sulaiman before Kabul, and went towards Ghorband. She sent forward some persons to assure Mirza Muhammad Hakim of her great affection for him, that having no son of her own, she looked upon him as her son, and that the great object of her journey was to bring about concord and unity.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim, in consequence of this message, determined to have a meeting with Khurram Begam at Karabagh, which is about ten *kas* from Kabul; and he sent messengers to her to inform her of his intention, and to receive from her satisfactory assurances. Khurram Begam showed great joy at the prospect of a meeting, and affirmed with strong oaths that she had no deceitful or treacherous designs, and that her sole object was unanimity. The messengers listened to these words and returned. They had not gone far, when that stupid[271] woman sent off messengers in hot haste to Mirza Sulaiman,

[271] *nakis-'akl, hardly an appropriate epithet.*

informing him of the intended meeting at Karabagh, and advising him to come there secretly with all speed and await his opportunity. Mirza Sulaiman left Muhammad Kuli Shaghali, a man of courage and one of his confidential nobles, with 1,000 men, in charge of his daughters, who were with him in his camp at Kabul. With the rest of the army he made a forced march to the neighbourhood of Karabagh, and there took post in ambush.

The messengers sent by Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Khurram Begam returned to him, and reported all her assurances and pledges. They strongly urged him to meet her, and Khwaja Hasan Nakshabandi exerted his influence to the same end. But Baki Kakshal was opposed to the Mirza's going, and said the woman was intent upon some stratagem and deception. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, however, having promised to meet Khurram Begam, would not listen to Baki Kakshal's objections, and proceeded with a few trusty followers towards Karabagh. When they reached the appointed place, some of Mirza Sulaiman's soldiers, who had got separated in the night, came in and made known the fact of Mirza Sulaiman having come, and of his lying in concealment. As soon as he was informed of this, Mirza Muhammad Hakim returned, and Sulaiman, being informed of his departure, set off in pursuit. In the pass of Sanjad-darra they overtook some of Mirzà Muhammad Hakim's men and made them prisoners. They also plundered the Mirza's baggage, etc., which was in the rear, and they stopped in the pass. The Mirza himself, along with Muhhamad Hakim, reached Ghorband. From thence they went to Jalalabad, and afterwards to the banks of the Indus.

As soon as he crossed the river, the Mirza wrote a letter to the Emperor, and sent it by his envoys. They reached the Court at the time it was at Nagar-chin, and were honoured with an interview. They presented the Mirza's letter, in which he set forth the unfortunate state of affairs. Intelligence of the distractions at Kabul had reached the Court before their arrival, and the Emperor had appointed Faridun Khan, maternal uncle of the Mirza, and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assist-

ance. He now sent Khus-khabr Khan, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindustan, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirza; and he wrote a *farman*, in which he said that if the Mirza required assistance, he would send the *amirs* of the Panjab to support him.

When Khus-khabr Khan approached the camp, the Mirza hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farman*. After the arrival of Khush-khabr Khan, Faridun laboured to instigate the Mirza to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mirza to seize Khush-khabr Khan. But although the Mirza had been led away by his foolish persuations, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabr Khan; so he invited the Khan to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultan 'Ali, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khan, brother of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who was in Kabul, helped to exite the hostile spirit, and added their voices to Faridun's.

Won over by their persuasions, the Mirza broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Panjab, such as Mir Muhammad Khan-i Kalan,[272] Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, and Sharif Muhammad, hearing of these proceedings, assembled in Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mirza's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirza encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim Khan, which is in sight of the city. Several times he marshalled his forces, and advanced to the foot of the fortifications; but the *amirs* of the Panjab repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mirza feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

[272] *"And all the Atka amirs," i.e., all the relations of Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 91. The Khan-i Kalan was elder brother of Shamsu-d din.*

MARCH OF THE ARMY TO LAHORE

When the hostile proceedings of Mirza Muhammad Hakim became known to the Emperor, his countenance showed the anger which he felt and he gave orders for the preparation of the army. Leaving Mun'im Khań Khan-khanan, in charge of Agra, the capital, and Muzaffar Khan in direction of the *diwani*, on the 3rd Jumada-l awwal, 974 H. he began his march. In ten days he reached Dehli, and went to visit the shrines of the saints who there repose, and bestowed his royal bounty on the poor and needy. From thence he proceeded by regular marches to Sirhind. He was greatly pleased with the *bazars* of this town, and commended Hafiz Rakhna, who was the *shikkdar*, and placed the *sarkardari* of that place in his charge. After crossing the Jumna, he received intelligence of the flight of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, but he went on joyfully to Lahore. Upon approaching the city, the great *amirs*, who had exhibited their loyalty and devotion, came forth to meet him, and received distinguished marks of royal favour. In the month of Rajab he arrived at Lahore, the *daru-s saltanat*, and took up his abode in the house of Mahdi Kasim Khan, in the citadel. By command of His Majesty, Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, and Kamal Khan Gakhar went in pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and advanced beyond the *pargana* of Bahra. There they learnt that the Mirza had crossed the Indus, so they returned.

When Mirza Muhammad Hakim heard that Mirza Sulaiman had gone back to Badakhshan, he made haste to Kabul. It has been related in a former page how Mirza Sulaiman left his daughters in his camp at Kabul, and went off in haste to seize upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim at Karabagh. Next day Muhammad Ma'sum Koka, whom Mirza Muhammad Hakim had left in command at Kabul, sent out a force to attack the besiegers' camp, and defeated them. Muhammad Kuli Shaghali, who was in command, gave up his baggage to plunder, and went off with the daughters of Mirza Sulaiman to Chahar-diwar Bagh, a place in the vicinity, and there entrenched himself. The Kabul forces surrounded the place, and sought to make him and Mirza

Sulaiman's daughters their prisoners; but Ma'sum Koka, considering it unseemly to make prisoners of the ladies, recalled his men. Mirza Sulaiman returned unsuccessful from Karabagh, and again laid siege to Kabul, but Ma'sum Koka had grown bold and daring. Every day he sent out parties of men, and sorely troubled the besiegers. The weather grew very cold, so Mirza Sulaiman became desirous of peace. Ma'sum Koka was aware of his distress, and was anxious to fight, so he would not make peace. Finally, Mirza Sulaiman sent in Kazi Khan Badakhshi, who had been tutor of Ma'sum Koka, and prevailed upon him to send the Mirza's small present. Peace was thus made. The Mirza first sent on his wife, and then followed her to Badakhshan.

When the Imperial Court arrived at Lucknow, many of the *zamindars* of the country came in to pay their allegiance, and were graciously received. Those who were unable to come themselves sent their representatives with presents and offerings, and their assurances of loyalty. Among them, Muhammad Baki Tarkhan, son of Mirza 'Isa, ruler of Sindh, sent his ambassadors to Court, to say that his father, who had been one of the dependents of the Imperial throne, was dead, and that he, the successor, considered himself among the vassals of the Emperor. Sultan Mahmud, the governor (*wali*) of the fort, supported by the Kazilbashis of Kandahar, was making attacks upon his territories, and he therefore besought the Emperor to prevent these molestations. In compliance with this application, the Emperor sent a *farman* to Sultan Mahmud, directing him to keep within his own boundaries, and not to attack the territories of Mahmmad Baki.

During the stay at Lahore, a letter arrived from Agra, from Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza, by name Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and Shah Mirza who held *jagirs* in the *sarkar* of Sambal, had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khan-khanan, had marched as far as Delhi to punish them, they had heard of his approach and had gone off towards Mandu. This Muhammad Sultan Mirza was son of Wis

Mirza, son of Mankara Mirza, son of Mansur, son of Mankara, son of 'Umar Shaikh, son of Amir Timur Gurgan *Sahib-kiran*. His mother was a daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza After the death of Sultan Husain Mirza, he came to the Court of the Emperor Babar, and was honourably received. The Emperor Humayun also treated him with consideration during the days of his reign. His sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, were also in the service of Humayun. These men had several times been guilty of rebellious actions, and their offences had been forgiven. Ulugh Beg was killed in an attack upon the Hazara country, and Shah Mirza was killed by the arrows of robbers in the pass of Ma'mura, about ten *parasangs* from Kabul. Ulugh Beg left two sons, Sultan Muhammad Mirza and Sikandar Mirza. His Majesty (Humayun) treated them kindly, and to Sikandar Mirza he gave the title of Ulugh Mirza, and to Sultan Muhammad Mirza the title of Shah Mirza. When the Emperor Akbar succeeded to the throne, Muhammad Sultan Mirza had grown old, so he was excused service, and the *pargana* of 'Azampur, in Sambal, was settled upon him for his maintenance. Several sons were born to him in his old age—Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and 'Akil Husain Mirza. To every one of these the Emperor gave suitable *jagirs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amirs*. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpur compaign, they repaired to their *jagirs*, and remained in Sambal. But when His Majesty went to Lahore, to repress the attempt of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, in concert with their uncles Ibrahim Husain and Mirza Muhammad Husain, broke out into rebellion, and attacked several *parganas*. But the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood gathered together and attacked them, so that they had to fly to Malwa, as will be related in the sequel.

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 2nd Ramzan; 974 H. (12th Feb., 1567). At the beginning of this

year, which was near the *Nauroz*, H Majesty determined to go out for a *Kamurgha*[273] hunt. An order was issued to all the great *amirs* for forty miles round Lahore to drive the animals together into a large plain, situated about five *kos* from Lahore. Accordingly the *amirs*, under the direction of Mir Muhammad Atka, drove together about fifteen thousand animals, deer, *nil-gaos*, jackals, foxes, etc., into that plain. The extent of this hunting ground was five *kos* on every side, and the Emperor's tent (*kasar*), which he used in his campaigns, was brought here and set up. The *amirs* and the *khàns* daily drew their lines closer, and narrowed the circle. When several days had passed in this sport, His Majesty graciously gave his attendants permission to shoot, and afterwards made the permission general, so that there was no soldier or any person who did not get several kinds of game. After the sport was over, the Emperor returned towards the city, and on reaching the river of Lahore, he plunged into the river on horseback and swam over. Of the attendants who followed His Majesty, Khush-khabr Khan, *Yasawal*, and Mir Muhammad, son of Sher Muhammad Kurdar, were drowned. While the hunt was going on, Hamid Bakri, one of the most favoured equerries (*yasawal*), having drunk too much, had wounded one of the Emperor's attendants with an arrow. This person found an opportunity in the course of the hunting to complain to the Emperor, who ordered Kalij Khan to strike off the offender's head. Kalij Khan used a sword, which broke with the blow, without doing the culprit any harm. When the Emperor saw this, he respited him, but had him exposed to public derision.

About this time Muzaffar Khan, who had been left in charge of the *diwani* at Agra, proceeded to the camp of the Emperor, along with Wazir Khan, brother of Asaf Khan, and joined it while he was out on the hunting excursion. The author's father, who had remained behind at Agra on government business,

[273] *Kamurgha, a Turki word for a great 'battue' in which the game is driven into a centre by a large circle of beaters.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., pp. 354, 421.*

accompanied Muzaffar Khan on this journey, and I, the author of this work, went along with my father. In fine, the Emperor forgave the offences of Asaf Khan and Wazir Khan and admitted the latter to an audience. A command was given that Asaf Khan, along with Majnun Khan Kakshal, should go to Karra-Manikpur, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories.

Intelligence now arrived that Ali Kuli Khan, Bahadur Khan, and Sikandar Khan had again broken their engagements, and risen in rebellion.[274] Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakil* Mirza Mirak Rizwi in custody of Khan Baki Khan, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Panjab in the charge of Mir Muhammad Khan and all the Atkas, on the 12th Ramazan, 974 H. (22nd March, 1567), he started on his return to Agra.

When the Emperor arrived at Thanesar, there was an assemblage of *Jogis* and *Sannyasis* on the banks of a lake called Kurkhet. This is a sacred place of the *brahmans,* and on occasion of eclipses the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion, and the people were bestowing their gifts of gold and silver, and jewels and stuffs, upon the *brahmans*. Many of them threw themselves into the water, and the *Jogis* and *Sannyasis*[275] were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the Emperor, seeking permission to settle it by fighting. The *Sanyasis* were between two and three hundred in number, and the *Jogis,* who wear only rags, were over five hundred. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by the Emperor's order, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes, and went to support the *Sannyasis,* who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued, and many were killed. The Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the *Jogies* were defeated, and the *Sannyasis* were the victors.

[274] *They had caused the 'khutba' to be read in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii. p. 359.*

[275] *Abu-l Fazl says the two sects were called "Gurs and Puris" ('Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 361); and he also speaks of the pleasure that Akbar derived from witnessing the fight.*

When the Imperial camp reached Dehli, Mirza Mirak Rizwi, who had been left in the charge of Khan Baki Khan, made his escape, and although the Khan pursued him, he did not succeed in recapturing him, and so, being apprehensive of the Emperor's displeasure, he himself fled. Tatar Khan, the governor of Dehli, reported that Muhammad Amin Diwana,[276] who had fled from Lahore, had gone to the house of Shahab Khan Turkoman, where he stayed some days, and after obtaining from him pecuniary assistance and a horse, had gone off to join the insurgents. This greatly incensed the Emperor, and he directed Shah Fakhru-d din Meshhedi to apprehend Shahab Khan. When the Emperor was encamped at the village of Palwal,[277] Shahab Khan was brought in for punishment, and was there executed.

Upon arriving at Agra, the Emperor was informed that Khan-zaman was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj, in which fort Mirza Yusuf Khan was shut up. Nineteen days after his arrival at Agra, the Emperor left Khan-khanan in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd Shawwal, 974 H., marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached the *pargana* of Saket, 'Ali Kuli Khan decamped from before Shergarh, and fled to his brother Bahadur Khan, who was in Manikpur. The royal camp was next pitched near the town of Bhojpur and the Emperor detached Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Muzaffar Khan, Raja Todar Mal, Shah Bidagh Khan and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Hasan Khan, 'Adil Muhammad, Khwaja Ghiyasu-d din 'Ali *Bakhshi*, and other officers, with nearly 6,000 horse, against Sikandar, who was in Oudh. He himself continued his march towards Manikpur.

When he reached the *pargana* of Rai Bareilly, he learnt that 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan had crossed the Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kalpi.[278] He then

[276] *He had made an attempt upon the life of one of the Imperial generals and was condemned to death; but his punishment was commuted for the bastinado and imprisonment He received the corporal punishment and escaped next day.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 358.*
[277] *Half way between Dehli and Muttra.*
[278] *The 'Akbar-nama' (Vol. ii., p. 366) says "Gwalior."*

directed his camp to proceeded under the command of Khwaja Jahan to the fort of Karra, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Manikpur.[279] There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,500 men swam the river along with him. Majnun Khan and Asaf Khan, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan had occupied themselves all the night in wine-drinking and licentiousness and were heedless of everything else. The war-like demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Majnun Khan, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

On Sunday, the 1st Zi-l hijja, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Asaf Khan and all the Atkas[280] were on the right; Majnun Khan and other *amirs* were on the left. This day His Majesty rode an elephant called Balsundar and Mirza Koka, who bore the title of 'Azam Khan, was seated in the *howda* with him. The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces, and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor.[281] Baba Khan Kakshal, who commanded the advance, repulsed them and drove them back upon the lines of 'Ali Kuli Khan. In the confusion, the horse of one of the fugitives ran against the horse of 'Ali Kuli Khan, and the Khan's turban fell off. Bahadur Khan saw this, and his spirit being roused, he made a bold charge upon the advanced guard under Baba Khan. Bahadur Khan in the pursuit came between these two forces. He fought manfully, but his horse, being wounded by an arrow, became unmanageable, and he was thrown to the ground and made prisoner.

279 *There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded, and the river much swollen.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 366.*

280 *The word "Atkas" is taken from Badauni (vol. ii., p. 96). The name used in the MSS. of the 'Tabakat' is doubtful.*

281 *Only 500 men and 500 elephants had managed to keep up with the Emperor. The rest followed and took part in the fight as they arrived.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 368.*

As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant and mounted a horse. Then he gave orders for the elephants to be driven against the lines of 'Ali Kuli Khan. There was among them an elephant named Hiranand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyana; but Hiranand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. 'Ali Kuli Khan received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and 'Ali Kuli Khan also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him, when 'Ali Kuli Khan cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahadur placed Bahadur Khan behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amirs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of 'Ali Kuli Khan-zaman was also brought.[282] The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for this victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwal, one of the dependencies of Josi and Payag, now known as Illahabas, on Monday, the 1st Zi-l hijja, 974 H.

While the Emperor was on his campaign against Khan-zaman, the author's father remained at Agra, in the performance of his duty to the Emperor, and the author himself was at Agra with him. Every day turbulent and designing men spread disastrous news. One day I said to one of my companions, "Suppose we set some favourable reports afloat?" and he asked what we should say, and I replied, "Let us say that news has come that they are bringing in the heads of Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan." I told this story to several persons. Three days afterwards 'Abdu-lla, son of Murad Beg, brought in the

[282] *His death being doubted, a reward was offered for every head. His head was then brought in and recognized.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 371.*

heads of Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan. The rumour was started in Agra on the very day they were slain.[283]

When the Emperor's mind was relieved from all apprehensions about his adversaries, he proceeded to Josi and Payag, and there rested two days. Some persons, who had deserted the royal army to join 'Ali Kuli Khan, were here brought in, and were handed over to keepers. He then proceeded to Benares.[284] Every follower of 'Ali Kuli Khan who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpur, and remained three days in sight of that city. Some of 'Ali Kuli Khan's men, who had escaped from the battle-field and fled to Jaunpur, were all forgiven and kindly treated. From thence he went, attended by four or five persons, and, by rapid travelling, in the course of three days, he reached the Ganges, at the ferry of Karra and Manikpur, where there was a camp. Crossing the river in a boat, he went and rested in the fortress. Then he wrote to Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan, summoning him from Agra.

Several *jagirdars* of the Eastern province paid their respects, and were dismissed with honour. Some men of 'Ali Kuli's army, who were prisoners and always intent upon creating a disturbance, such as Khan Kuli Uzbek, Yar 'Ali and Mirza Beg Kakshal, people of Majnun 'Ali Khan, Khushhal Beg one of the guards of the late Emperor Humayun, Mir Shah Badakhshi, and other mal-contents, met with a terrible fate.[285] Mirza Mirak Rizwi Meshhedi, the *vakil* of 'Ali Kuli Khan, who had

[283] *Abu-l Fazl tells a similar story of his father. He says that while the Emperor was on this campaign, the hopes of the disaffected rose to the highest pitch, and Mu'nim Khan, who was in charge of the capital, was sorely troubled. In his perplexity, he consulted Shaikh Mubarak, who predicted that the heads of the rebels would be brought in.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 373.*

[284] *The people of Benares had closed their gates, so orders were given for plundering the city.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 373*

[285] *Trampled to death by elephants—'T. Alfi.' Badauni informs us (vol. ii., p. 100) that Kazi Tawaisi, the Kazi of the Imperial camp, gave it as his opinion that the execution of these prisoners and the seizure of their property were unlawful. For this independent judgment he was dismissed.*

fled from Court to join the latter, was taken prisoner on the day of battle, and was ordered to be cast under the feet of an elephant. But the elephant merely rubbed him with his trunk, and finally, in virtue of his being a *saiyid*, his crime was forgiven.

Khan-khanan, who had been summoned from Agra, now waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the *jagirs* of 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan in Jaunpur, Benares, Ghazipur, the fort of Chunar and Zamaniya, as far as the ferry of Chaunsa. He also received a present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season, in Zi-l hijja, 974, the Emperor began his homeward march, and in Muharram, 975, arrived at Agra.

It has been previously mentioned that Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas and Muzaffar Khan were sent with a force against Sikandar, and went towards Oudh. On hearing of their approach, Sikandar took refuge in a fort.[286] The royal forces came up and laid siege to the fort. Sikandar was already hard pressed, when the news arrived of the destruction of 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan. This greatly disprited the Uzbeks, and they sent men to Muhammad Kuli and Muzaffar Khan, to treat for peace. Having thus engaged the commanders in negotiations, Sikandar evacuated the fort by the gate towards the river, and embarked in boats. As he had all the boats, the Imperial generals were unable to cross the river. Sikandar again sent a message to them, declaring that he was quite ready to keep the engagement he had made, but his men were suspicious. He therefore requested that thay would come out in a boat to the middle of the river, and he would meet them with two or three persons and settle the terms. This would satisfy his men, and they would proceed together to Court. Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Muzaffar Khan, and Raja Todar Mal agreed to this proposition, and went out to the middle of the stream. Sikandar Khan, on the other side, came out with two or three persons, and had the interview.[287] The *amirs* promised

[286] *The fort of Oudh.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 101.*

[287] *Abu-l Fazl places this conference after Sikandar's escape, and*

to sue for the pardon of Sikandar, and swore that they would make no attack on the lives or property of him or his men. Upon this agreement, they separated, and each party went to his own side.

Sikandar then made two days' march, and wrote to the *amirs,* stating that the rise of the waters had prevented his staying on the banks of the river. On hearing of his departure, the *amirs* went after him. When they reached Gorakhpur, they discovered that he had crossed the river and gone off. The country before them belonged to the Afghans, into which they could not enter without the order of the Emperor. They wrote a statement of the position to Court, and received an answer to the effect, that as Sikandar had left the Imperial territory, it was unnecessary to pursue him. His estates and *jagirs* were given to Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas. The *amirs* on being acquainted with the contents of the letter, left Muhammad Kuli Khan, and returned to Court.

CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF CHITOR[288]

Many *zamindars* and *rajas* of Hindustan had become subjects of the Imperial throne. But Rana Udi Singh, Raja of Mewar, confident in the strength of his fortresses, and the number of his men and elephants, had thrown off his allegiance. Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of 'Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels, he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor. He accordingly began to make preparations for the campaign. The *pargana* of Bayana was taken from Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani, and given in *jagir* to Asaf Khan, who was ordered to proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor followed to the town of Bari, with the avowed intention of hunting, and there killed a thousand animals in sport. Then he ordered his army to be brought up, and proceeded onwards

says that he demanded the restoration of his 'jagir' and offices, and acted in a very false and unworthy manner.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 377.

[288] *See 'supra.'*

to Mu-maidana. When he reached the fort of Supar,[289] he found that, hearing of his approach, the men who garrisoned that fort for Rai Surjan of Rantambhor, and abandoned it and fled to Rantambhor. The fort was placed in charge of Nazar Bahadur, one of the Imperial adherents. From thence he went to Kota, one of the *parganas* of that country, of which he made Shah Muhammad Khan Kandahari the governor. Next he marched to Gagrun,[290] on the borders of Malwa.

Mirza Ulugh and Mirza Shah, sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, had fled from Sambal, and had come into these parts, where they had begun a revolt, which the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress. He therefore appointed Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, Shah Bidagh Khan, Muhammad Murad Khan, and Haji Muhammad Sistani to *jagirs* in Mandu, and charged them with that duty. When the *amirs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mirzas, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarat, to Changiz Khan, the ruler of that country, who had been one of the adherents of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati. So the *amirs* obtained possession of Mandu without opposition.

When the Emperor marched from Gagrun, Rana Udi Singh left seven or eight thousand men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rajput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain, in the fort of Mirtha, as before related. The Rana himself, with all his relatives and dependents, took refuge in the hills and jungles.

The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*, and the width half a *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amirs*.

289 Or "Siwi-Supar".—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 381. "Sheopoor," 120 miles S.W. of Agra.

290 Near the junction of the Ahu and Kali Sind in Kota.

The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Asaf Khan was sent to Rampur,[291] a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kuli Khan was sent with a detachment towards Udipur and Kombalmir,[292] which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the Rana. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rana, he returned to the Imperial camp.

When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sabats,* and the digging of mines. About 5,000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were collected, and began their work of constructing *sabats* on two sides of the forts. A *sabat* is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance (from the fort), and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kucha*) is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sabat* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i badshahi*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.

While the *sabat* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sabat* was completed, and carried close to the fort.

The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together they filled them with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery, fully armed and accoutred, approach-

[291] *About fifty miles S.E. from Chitor. Asaf Khan had previously reduced the fort of Mandal (the "Mundalour" of Malcom's map, ten miles S.E. of Gagrun?)—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., pp. 395, 396.*

[292] *Thirty-four miles N.W. of Udipur.*

ed the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded, and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes, who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamalu-d din and . . . . and a great number of the Emperor's attendents, were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sabat* which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khan was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th Sha'ban, 975 H., the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sabat*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died upon the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place, and burnt them. This proceeding, in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *Jauhor*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sabat*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. 'Adil Muhammad Kanda-

hari...and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night the fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rajputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds.[293] After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Asaf Khan was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'ban.

A curious incident in this siege was this : A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at that moment a gun was fired from the fortress, and the ball passed within the length of a barley corn from his thumb, and did him no harm.

When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, which is at Ajmir, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th Ramazan, he reached Ajmir. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital.

END OF PART ONE

[293] *Abu-l Fazl states that the number of the slain amounted to near si hazar (30,000); but perhaps 'sih hazar,' 3,000 is meant.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 407. See 'supra'.*

PART TWO

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Ramazan, 975 H. (14th March, 1568). At the beginning of this year the Emperor left Ajmir, and proceeded by way of Mewat towards Agra. On his journey, he passed a jungle which was the abode of lions (*sher*) and tigers (*babar*). A terrible tiger (*sher*)[1] came out, and His Majesty's followers, who were constantly in attendance upon him, discharged their arrows and stretched him in the dust. His Majesty then gave orders, that if a like thing should occur again, they were not to shoot until he directed them. As they went on, another tiger (*sher*), larger and fiercer than the first, came out and made towards the Emperor. No one of the attendants dared to fire without orders. The tiger-hunting King alighted from his horse and levelled a musket at the beast. The ball grazed the animal's face, inflicting a slight wound, which caused him to rush from his place towards His Majesty. The Emperor fired a second time, and brought him down. At this juncture, 'Adil Muhammad Kandahari, boldly placed an arrow to his bow, and faced the animal, which then turned away from the Emperor and attacked him. It brought him to the ground, and was about to take his head in his mouth. That brave fellow, in his supreme moment, thrust his hand into the animal's mouth, and sought to draw his dagger to stab him in the belly. But the handle of the dagger stuck in the sheath, and the beast gnawed the flesh and skin of the hand which was in his mouth. Notwithstanding this, 'Adil managed to draw his dagger, and inflicted some deep wounds in the animal's belly. Brave men gathered round on all sides and finished him. 'Adil Muhammad received a sword-cut besides the wounds the tiger had given him. He lay for some time on the bed of pain before he died of his wounds.

[1] *It was in all probability a tiger, although the author would seem to use the words 'sher' and 'babar' distinctively.*

After the tiger hunt the royal camp moved towards Alwar, and directions were given that it should proceed thither, while the Emperor himself went to pay a visit to Shaikh Nizam Narnauli. He then returned to the camp, and proceeded with the army to the capital.

After a stay of some months at Agra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor, renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindustan. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor. Ashraf Khan *Mir-munshi* and Sadik Khan were sent on this service with a large portion of the Imperial army. When these *amirs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had escapted from the hands of Changiz Khan, in Gujarat,[2] and had laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Malwa. The Emperor then directed that Kalij Khan, with the *amirs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirzas.

The two forces united according to the order. On approaching Sironj, Shahabu-d din, the ruler of that *sarkar*, came forth to meet them. He joined them and marched on with them. When they encamped at Sarangpur, Shah Bidagh Khan joined them with his forces. The army had now grown very large. When the Mirzas were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandu. Muhammad Murad Khan and Mirza 'Azizu-Ila, who had been besieged in Ujjain, being thus released, came out and joined the *amirs*. All marched together in pursuit of the Mirzas, who fled before them from Mandu to the banks of the Nerbadda. They crossed this river in such confusion that many of their men were drowned. Just at this time Jajhar Khan Habshi murdered Changiz Khan, the ruler of Gujarat, in the *tirpauliya maidan* of Ahmadabad. When the Mirzas heard of this, they seized the chance which

[2] *"The Mirzas did not get on amicably with Changiz Khan, and were tvrannical in their 'jagirs,' so they fled from him."—Badauni, vol. ii., pp. 106, 199.*

it afforded, and fled to Gujarat. The Imperial *amirs* turned back from the river Nerbadda, and the *jagirdars* of Mandu returned to their *jagirs*. Kalij Khan and the other *amirs* proceeded to Court, and were received with royal favour. On reaching Gujarat, the Mirzas first seized upon the fort of Champanir,[3] and then marched against Broach, to which they laid siege. After a while, they by stratagem got into their power Rustam Khan Rumi, who was besieged in the fort, and put him to death.[4] The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place.

In the course of this year Mir Muhammad Khan-i kalan, Kutubu-d din Muhammad Khan, and Kamal Khan Ghakar, *jagirdars* of the Punjab, were summoned to Court. They hastened to obey, and in Rabi'u-l awwal, 976 H., they arrived and made their offerings. Husain Kuli Khan and his brother Isma'il Khan were summoned from Nagor, and appointed to the government of the Panjab instead of them. The *jagir* of Muhammad Khan-i Kalan, in the *sarkar* of Sambal, became a *tankhwah*. When the Emperor marched to conquer Rantambhor, Husain Kuli Khan was his personal attendant in the campaign. But after the reduction of Rantambhor, and the return of His Majesty to Agra, Husain Kuli Khan and his brother Ismail Kuli Khan took leave and departed to the Panjab. On the 1st Rajab, the Emperor marched from Agra against Rantambhor. Proceeding to Delhi, he stayed there some days and went out to a *kamurgha* hunt, in the neighbourhood of Palam, where four or five thousand animals were killed.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year agreed with 5th Ramazan, 976 H. (22nd February, 1969). The Emperor marched at the opening

[3] *"And Surat."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 418.*

[4] *"The fort was held by Rustam Khan, a Turki slave, in whose house the sister of Changiz Khan had taken refuge. He fought bravely, and held out for two years; but being left without help, he was at length obliged, to surrender and was then in a base and dastardly manner put to death."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 413.*

of the year towards Rantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sabats* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon.

Raj Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence, and he sent out his two sons, Dudh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kuli Khan, who had received the title of Khan-jahan, into the fort to give assurances to Rai Surjan. He did so, and brought the Rai to wait upon the Emperor, when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.[5] On Wednesday, 3rd Shawwal, the conquest of the fortress was accomplished, and on the next day the Emperor went in to examine the place. He placed Mihtar Khan in command of the fortress, and then prepared to return to the capital. Leaving the army under the command of Khwaja Aminu-d din Mahamud, who was entitled Khwaja-jahan, and Muzaffar Khan, the Emperor left them to conduct the army back to the capital, while he made a hasty journey to pay a visit to the tomb of Faizu-l anwar Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti. He remained there a week, and then departed for Agra, where he arrived on Wednesday, 4th Zi-l, ka'da, 976. Darbar Khan, one of his personal attendants, had been compelled by sickness to continue with the army, and he died before His Majesty reached Agra. Upon his return His Majesty went into the Khan's dining-hall, and made a princely provision for his family.

FOUNDATION OF THE TOWN OF FATHPUR

The Emperor had several sons born to him, but none of them had lived. Shaikh Salim Chishti, who resided at the town of Sikri, twelve *kos* from Agra, had gladdened him with the promise of a son. The Emperor went to visit the Shaikh several

[5] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 493.*

times, and remained there ten or twenty days on each occasion. He commenced a fine building there on the top of a hill, near the Shaikh's monastery. The Shaikh also commenced a new monastery and a fine mosque, which at the present day has no equal in the world, near the royal mansion. The *amirs* also built houses and mansions for themselves. When one of the Emperor's wives became pregnant, he conveyed her to the dwelling of the Shaikh and left her there. Sometimes he stayed there himself, sometimes at Agra. He gave the name of Fathpur to Sikri, and built a *bazar* and baths there.

CONQUEST OF KALINJAR

This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultans had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khan Afghan (Sher Shah) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it, as has been narrated in the history of his reign. During the interregnum of the Afghans, Raja Ram Chandar[6] had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli[7] Khan, the adopted son (*pisar-i khwanda*) of Bihar Khan Afghan. The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jagirs* in the neighbourhood of Kalinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Raja Ram Chandar was a prudent and experienced man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnun Khan Kakshal, one of the *jagirdars* of that quarter, and a friendly *farman* was sent to Raja Ram Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of Safar, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.

[6] *"Raja of Panna".—'T. Alfi.' See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 406.*

[7] *"Ali Khan, the reputed son of Bihar Khan 'Azam Humayun, and son-in-law of Sher Khan (Sher Shah)."—'T. Alfi.'*

BIRTH OF PRINCE SULTAN SALIM MIRZA

On Wednesday, 18th of Rabi'ul awwal, 977 H., and the fourteenth year of the reign, when seven hours of the day had passed, the exalted prince Sultan Salim Mirza was born in the house of Shaikh Salim Chishti in the town of Fathpur. The Emperor himself was in Agra at that time, and the joyful tidings was conveyed to him by Shaikh Ibrahim, son-in-law of Shaikh Salim, who was right royally rewarded. In thanksgiving for this happy event, gifts were distributed among the people, prisoners were set free, and great feasts were held, which were kept up for seven days with great pleasure and rejoicing. The date of the birth is found in the words *Shah-i al i Timur.* Khwaja Husain composed an ode, of which the first line contained the date of the Emperor's accession, and the second the date of the prince's birth. The Khwaja received a present of two lacs of *tankas* for this ode, and several other poets received rewards for their productions. The Emperor made Fathpur[8] a royal abode, raised a stone fortification round it, and built some splendid edifices, so that it became a great city. Before the prince was born, the Emperor had resolved in his own mind, that if the Almighty granted his wishes, he would go a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of *Muradu-l anwar Kutbu-l wasilin* Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti. Having prepared his offerings, on Friday, the 12th Shaban, 977, he started on foot from Agra for Ajmir. Every day he travelled seven or eight *kos.* He visited the shrine, and performed the usual observances immediately upon his arrival. He passed some days there, and then left Ajmir for Dehli, where he arrived in Ramazan, 977.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, the 6th Shawwal, 977 H. (14th March, 1570)....On Thursday, the 3rd Muharram, 978, the star of good fortune shone, and the Emperor had another son, Prince Murad, borne to him in the

[8] *Now known as Fathpur-Sikri. See supra.*

house of Shaikh Salim. In gratitude for this blessing, he opened the hand of liberality, and gave away many munificent gifts, and men were enriched by his bounty. The nobles and officers of the Court presented offerings suitable to their respective ranks, and received robes of honour. Maulana Kasim Arslan on this occasion wrote a couplet, of which the first line contained the date of the birth of Prince Salim, and the second that of Prince Murad.

MARCH OF THE EMPEROR TO AJMIR

The Emperor was accustomed, wherever he might be, to pay a visit every year to the tomb of Mu'inu-l hakk wau-d din Hasan Sanjari at Ajmir. In this happy year, on the 8th Rabi'u-l Akhir, 978, he started for that place, in order to show his gratitude for the boon granted to him. He stayed twelve days at Fathpur, in order to make some necessary arrangements for his journey. He arrived at Ajmir in due course. To show his favour, and to improve the condition of the place, he ordered a strong wall to be built round it, and a palace to be erected in it for his own residence. The *amirs* and *khans*, and attendants of the Court, vied with each other in erecting dwellings there. He distributed the villages and lands and houses of Ajmir among his *amirs*, to enable them to pay the expenses of the new buildings. On Friday, 4th Jumada-l akhir, he left Ajmir, and arrived in sight of Nagor on the 16th. Here there is a large tank, which he ordered his soldiers to dig and fill with water. He himself inspected the tank, and gave it the name of *Shukr talao*.

While he was thus staying at Nagor, Chandar Sen, son of Rai Maldeo[9] came to pay his allegiance, and make his offerings. Raja Kalyan Mal, the Raja of Bikanir, also came with his son, Rai Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyan Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people

[9] *"Ruler of Marwar."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 133.*

of Nagor. From thence he proceeded to Ajohdan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Faridu-d dín Mas'ud Ganj-i shakar. Rai Kalyan Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikanir; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion, as will be related in the proper place.

There were many wild asses (*gor-khar*) in this desert country, and His Majesty, who had never hunted this animal, was desirous of doing so. One day as he was journeying on, the scouts brought information that there was a herd of wild asses in the vicinity of the camp. He immediately mounted a fleet courser, and after a ride of four or five *kos*, came in sight of the herd. He got off his horse, and commanded all his followers to remain quiet. He himself, with four or five Biluchis, who were acquainted with the country, approached the herd with guns in their hands. At the first shot he struck an ass, and the remainder of the herd, being frightened by the noise, dispersed. His Majesty cautiously approached, and struck another, and so on, until sixteen asses fell by his hand. That day he travelled nearly seventeen *kos* in hunting, and at the close returned to the camp. By his order the sixteen asses were brought to the camp in carts, and their flesh was distributed in front of the royal tent among the *amirs* and courtiers. Then he proceeded towards Ajodhan; and on arriving in sight of the place, he went on immediately, and performed all the ceremonies of pilgrimage, and distributed his bounty among the poor . . . . .

From thence he proceeded towards Lahore, and when he arrived at Dipalpur, the *jagirdar* of that *pargana*, Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash, who bore the title of 'Azam Khan, and was well known as Mirza Koka, prepared an entertainment, and begged him to stay there a few days and rest. His Majesty graciously consented, and remained there. For some days feasting went on, and upon the last day splendid offerings were presented to him. Arab and Persian horses, with saddles of silver; huge elephants, with chains of gold and silver, and housings of velvet and brocade; and gold and silver, and

pearls and jewels, and rubies and garnets of great price : chairs of gold, and silver vases, and vessels of gold and silver; stuffs of Europe, Turkey, and China, and other precious things beyond all conception. Presents of similar kind also were presented for the young princes and the Emperor's wives. All the ministers and attendants and dignitaries received presents, and every soldier of the army also participated in the bounty.

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 17th Shawwal, 978 H. (13th March, 1571 A.D.).

At the beginning of this year His Majesty departed from Dipalpur for Lahore, and Hasan Kuli Khan, the governor of that city, hastened forth to receive him. Leaving his camp at Malkapur, the Emperor went on speedily to Lahore. He passed that day and night in the house of Hasan Ḳuli, and next day the Khan presented his gifts. On the following day the Emperor returned to the camp, and after spending a few days in the vicinity of Lahore, he set off for Hisar-Firozah, on a visit to the shrine of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din.

Nahid Begam was wife of Muhibb 'Ali Khan son of Mir Khalifa, and her mother was wife of Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta. Mirza 'Isa being dead, Nahid Begam had received leave from His Majesty about a year before this date to go to Sind, to see her mother, and bring the daughter of Mirza 'Isa to pay homage to the Emperor. Muhammad Baki Tarkhan now occupied the seat of his father, and would have nothing to do with Nahid Begam. She therefore returned in anger to the Emperor, and made a statement of the harshness and tyranny of Muhammad Baki, and of the disrespect he had shown to the Emperor's servants. She said that if the Emperor would permit and support her husband Muhibb 'Ali Khan, he could easily effect the conquest of Thatta. As Nahid Begam was returning from Thatta, she had some conversation at Bakar with Sultan Mahmud Bakari who was one of the officers of Mirza Shah Husain Arghun, and his *koka;* and, after the death of Mirza

Shah, Bakar remained in his possession. This Sultan Mahmud Salai Samarkandi told Nahid Begam that if Muhibb 'Ali Khan would undertake the conquest of Thatta, he would join and assist him, and that he would have no need of any further support. In consequence of this promise, Nahid Begam was very desirous of going to Sind. Muhibb 'Ali Khan had for a long time given up the military life, so the Emperor granted him a banner and a kettle-drum, and he gave him a *jagir* of fifty lacs of *tankas* in the *sarkar* of Multan, towards the expense of the campaign. He also sent with him his daughter's son Mujahid, a young man of resolution and courage, and he wrote a *farman* to Sa'id Khan, the ruler of Multan, directing him to support Muhibb 'Ali Khan.

When the Emperor left the Panjab for Fathpur his royal residence (*daru-l khilafdt*), he sent Muhibb Ali on his expedition. Upon arriving at his *jagir* in Multan, Muhibb 'Ali set about collecting men, and got together nearly 400 horse. Relying upon Sultan Mahmud Bakari, he wrote letters to him, and began his march. But Sultan Mahmud was adverse to the entrance of any Imperial forces into his territory, so, disregarding the promise he had made to Nahid Begam, he sent to say that he would not allow Muhibb 'Ali to pass through his country; but that if Muhibb 'Ali would march by way of Jesalmir, he would send his army to him, and render him all the assistance he could.

Muhibb 'Ali, and his grandson Mujahid, took a bold course, and proceeded towards Bakar. Sultan Mahmud sent his whole army to oppose them. but his men were defeated, and obliged to seek refuge in the fort of Manila. Mujahid and Muhibb 'Ali Khan besieged the fort for six months, and at length obtained possession of it by capitulation. At this time Mubarak Khan, a slave of Sultan Mahmud's who acted as his *vakil*, being aggrieved with his master, went and jointed Muhibb 'Ali. The latter having increased his force, laid siege to Bakar. Sultan Mahmud sent out his army, amounting to nearly 2000 horse and 4000 foot, archers, and gunners. They were defeated in battle and driven back into the fort. For three years Sultan Mahmud sometimes daily, sometimes every two or three days, sent out armed ships and *ghrabs* to fight. Three times he sent out his

whole army, horse and foot, to fight a regular battle, but each time he was defeated. In conquence of the large number of men which he had crowded into the fort, pestillence and sickness[10] broke out and became very fatal, so that 500 to 1000 persons died daily. At length, in the year 983, Mahmud himself died, and the fort came into the possession of the Emperor's adherents.

When the Emperor left the Panjab and proceeded to Fathpur, Mun'im Khan Khan-khanan came from Jaunpur, bringing Sikandar Khan with him. The offences of Sikandar Khan were pardoned, and the *jagir* of Lucknow was conferred upon him. Khan-khanan quickly returned to secure his Bengal frontier. Sikandar Khan also took his leave, and was sent along with Khan-khanan to his *jagir*. Each received a jewelled sword-belt and four horses with golden saddles. Soon after his arrival at Lucknow, Sikandar Khan fell sick, and died on 10th Jumada-l awwal, 979 H.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 25th Shawwal, 979 H. (11th March, 1572 A.D.)

CAMPAIGN IN GUJARAT[11]

In the Court of the Emperor conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities. Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat. The order was given for the assem-

[10] *"ufunat o bimari." Badauni (vol. ii., p. 135) calls it "waba."*

[11] *"Gujarat had for a long time had no legitimate master, and its amirs were quarrelling with each other, and oppressing the peasants. 'Itimad Khan was minister of the country, but was not able to keep it in his grasp, and each chief in his own city considered himself supreme ruler of Gujarat."—Tarikh-i Alfi.*

biing of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmir. On the 15th Rabi'ul awwal, he paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d Chisti, and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts. Next day he made a visit to the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khang-sawar, a descendant of Zainu-l 'abidin, which is on the top of a hill at Ajmir. Next day, Mir Muhammad Khan Atka, better known by the title of Khan-i kalan, was sent on in advance with 10,000 horse, and His Majesty followed on the 22nd Rabi'u-s sani.

Two stages from Nagor, messengers brought him the news that in the night of Wednesday, 2nd Jumada-l awwal, a son was born to him (at Ajmir).[12] He spent several days in rejoicing, and made many happy by his munificence. As the child had been born in the house of Shaikh Daniyal, one of the most pious and celebrated *shaikhs* of the time, he gave the prince the name of Daniyal. After the rejoicings were over, he again marched and arrived at Nagor, on the 9th Jumada-l awwal. There he remained fourteen days employed in arranging for the supply of his army.

From thence he marched to Mirath, and there he was informed that when Mir Muhammad Khan came near to Sirohi, the Raja of that place professed subjection and obedience, and sent some Rajputs as envoys to wait upon the Mir. The envoys arrived and delivered their message. Mir Muhammad Khan gave them an appropriate answer and fine robes and then, according to the etiquette observed among the people of India, he dismissed them with his own hand.[13] One of those desperate envoys at that moment stabbed the Khan in the breast, and the weapon pierced through to his back under the shoulder. Bahadur Khan,

[12] *Badauni, vol. ii., p. 139.*

[13] *"When the envoy was taking leave, according to the custom of the country, he asked for* pan, *and the Khan taking some in his hand, called him forward to give it to him. The envoy then drew a dagger (jamdhar) from his bosom, and stabbed the Khan in the breast. . . . The attendants of the Khan killed all the followers of the ambassador, although they denied any complicity in the shameful deed."—T. Alfi.*

a young man and a servant of the Khan, who was standing behind Sher Khan, but now has his place among the nobles, rushed forward, and seizing the Rajput, dashed him to the ground. Muhammad Sadik Khan, who was seated by the side of the Khan, arose and despatched the accursed wretch with his dagger. When this intelligence reached the Emperor, on the same day he sent Lashkar Khan *Mirbakhshi* to inquire after Mir Muhammad Khan, and next day he marched forward himself. Sadik Muhammad Khan and the other *amirs* called in surgeons, who dressed the Khan's wounds, and by the Emperor's good fortune the severe wound was cured in fifteen days, and the Khan mounted his horse with his quiver girt upon his loins.

The Emperor continued his march, and on the 8th Jumada-s sani formed a junction with the advanced force. When he reached Sirohi, eighty Rajputs in a temple and seventy in the Raja's house stood ready to perform the vow they had made to die. In a few moments they were all despatched. Dost Muhammad, son of Tatar Khan, perished in the Raja's house. At this stage His Majesty resolved to send one of his officers to make sure of the territory of Joudhpur, and keep the road to Gujarat open, so that none of the Ranas might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rai Singh Bikaniri,[14] who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Farmans* were written to the *amirs* and *jaigirdars* of that province, directing them to render Rai Singh every assistance he might require.

At this stage Yar 'Ali Turkoman, with an escort of Turkomans, came as an ambassador from Sultan Muhammad Mirza, and from Shah Tahamasp, King of Khurasan, bringing with them Arab and Persian horses, and other presents. They were received by His Majesty with all due state and honour. The Emperor then marched from Sirohi to Pattan Nahrwala, and when he arrived near the fort of Disa, which is twenty *kos* from Pattan, intelligence was brought that the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi had taken off their troops and families towards Idar. The Emperor

[14] *"Rai Singh of Bikanir was sent to Joudhpur to keep the road to Gujarat open, and to prevent any annoyance from Rana Kika, chief of Kokanda and Kombalmir"—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 146.*

sent Raja Man Singh in command of a detachment after them. On the 1st Rajab 980, the army arrived in sight of Pattan, and rested there for a week. The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the *Saiyids* of Hindustan. At this halt Raja Man Singh returned, bringing in a lrage booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afghanas.

The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadabad. Sher Khan Fuladi had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadabad, which was held by 'Itimad Khan,[15] but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pattan, when Sultan Muzaffar, son of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, whom, 'Itimad Khan had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor, and on Sunday,[16] the 9th Rajab, was admitted to an interview. Next day, 'Itmad Khan, the ruler of Ahmadabad, Mir Abu Turab, Saiyid Ahmad Bukhari, Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, Malik Aṣhraf, Wajhu-l Mulk, Ulugh Khan Habshi, Jajhar Khan Habshi, and other *amirs* and chiefs of Gujarat, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. 'Itimad Khan presented the keys of Ahmadabad, and showed every sign of submission.

The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshis* (Abyssinians), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th Rajab, pitched his

[15] *"The slave and prime minister of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 141. He was originally a Hindu slave. See Ain-i Akberi, vol. ii., p. 385.*

[16] *According to Abu-l Fazl, Sultan Muzaflar separated from Sher Khan Fuladi, and wandered about without aim or purpose. Akbar sent a party to search for him. He was found hiding in a corn-field, and was brought to the Emperor, who treated him very kindly.—Akbar-nama. (There is here a lacuna of about six months in the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-nama).*

camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadabad. The khutba was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings. On the 20th Rajab, Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari brought their wives into the royal camp. On the same day Jalal Khan who had been sent on an embassy to a Rana returned.

Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Muhammad Husain Mirza held Broach, Baroda, and Surat[17] in defiance of the Emperor, so he resolved to free the country of Gujarat from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd Sha'ban, he started from the river of Ahmadabad and marched towards Kambay. 'Itimad Khan and other of the Gujarat *amirs* were at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadabad for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarat, fled on the 4th Sha'ban from Ahmadabad to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarat, 'Itimad Khan was given into the custody of Shahbaz Khan Kambu. On the 6th the Emperor reached Kambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Kambay on the 12th, he reached Baroda on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarat, he appointed Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash the *Khan-i 'azim* to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadabad.

A DETACHMENT SENT TO INVEST SURAT

After the departure of the *'Azam-khan*, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat, which was the home and stronghold of the Mirzas. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Shah Kuli Khan Mahram Khan-i 'alam, Raja Bhwagan Das, Kunwar Man Singh...and several others to overpower Husain Mirza, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th

[17] *Ibrahim Mirza held Boroda, Muhammad Husain held Surat, and Shah Mirza had Champanir.—Akbar-nama.*

Sha'ban, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrahim Mirza Khan, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance, had murdered Rustam Khan Rumi[18] and then left the town, intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

On hearing this, the Emperor's wrath was kindled. He instantly gave orders, that Khwaja-jahan, Shuja'at Khan, Kalij Khan, and Sadik Khan should take charge of the young prince Salim, while he went to chastise Ibrahim Mirza. He took with him Malikhu-sh Shark Gujarati, who was well acquainted with the roads, and he sent Shahbaz Khan *Mir Bakhshi* in all haste, to recall to his side Saiyid Muhammad Khan, and the forces which had marched against Surat.[19] The remainder of that night, and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindri.[20] Ibrahim Husain Mirza was in the town of Sarnal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this, the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves.

At this crisis, Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Kuli Khan Mahram Khan-i 'alam, Raja Bhagwan Das, Kunwar Man Singh, ...Bhoj, the son of Surjan, and others of the force sent against Surat, by a forced march came up and joined the Emperor. Kunwar Man Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men[21] the Emperor, without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over.

[18] *"Who was desirous of returning to his allegiance." —Akbar-nama.*

[19] *The force he took with him numbered about 2000 men. —Akbar-nama.*

[20] *Abu-l Fazl calls the river also "Sakanir." —Ib. There is a "Sinnole" on the Maujam river, thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.*

[21] *The text says distinctly that the whole of the Emperor's men did not exceed one hundred. Firishta makes them 156. Badauni (vol. ii., p. 142), however, states that Man Sing crossed the river with 100 men. See Extract from Akbar-nama, another volume.*

Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who had with him about 1000 horsemen, on perceiving this bold movement, went out of the town of Sarnal by another road, telling his men that he intended to give battle in the open. The road between the river and the fort was very broken, so Kunwar Man Singh, and the advance under his command, took another road, and the Emperor passed by a road to the gate of the town by the water-side. Some of the enemy, whose blood was up, made a stand in the street, and showed fight. Makbul Khan, a Kalmuck slave, who on that day went in front of the Emperor, cut one of them down, and wounded several others.

It was now discovered that Ibrahim Husain had quitted the town, and the Emperor gave orders for the pursuit. The troops accordingly left the walls and went out into the plain, and there the two parties confronted each other. Ibrahim Husain made an attack upon Baba Khan Kakshal, who had been sent forward with a party of bowmen. Although these made a stout resistance, they were driven back a short distance. But every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhupat, son of Raja Bihar Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was all hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage gone to the front, and Raja Bhagwan Das had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Raja. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Raja Bhagwan Das hurled his spear at him and severely wounded him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.,

At this time Makbul Khan Ghulam and Surokh[22] Badakhshi joined His Majesty, and he sent them in pursuit of his assailants. The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce on-

[22] *One MS. invariably calls him "Iraj."*

slaught upon the enemy. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was disheartened, and took to flight. Some brave men pursued him, and cut down several men on their way. But the night came on darker than the fate of that band, so the Emperor gave orders to stop pursuit. Ibrahim Husain Khan, glad to save his life, made off with a few persons by the Ahmadnagar road to Sirohi. The Emperor went into the town of Sarnal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jagirs*.

Next day the Emperor started on his return to the royal camp, but he sent on in advance Surokh Badakhshi, whose conduct in this affair had gained the royal approbation, to carry news of the victory to the princes. When the news arrived, the princes and the ladies of the *harem*, and the *amirs* and the officials, were filled with joy sufficient to last them their lives. On Wednesday, the 18th Sha'ban when one watch of the night was passed, the Emperor rejoined his camp at Baroda. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Raja Bhagwan Das, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

MARCH AGAINST SURAT

The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said, that a slave of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, Safar Aka by name, who received the title of Khudawand Khan, built this fortress on the sea shore[23] in the year 947, in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musulmans. When Khudawand Khan was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it, but could not succeed in their object. Khudawand Khan then called for his architect, a very clever man, to provide for the security of the fort. After a little reflection, the careful builder determined on his plan. On the two sides of the fort which face the land, he formed

[23] *"On the shore of the Persian gulf," but is really on the river Tapti, twenty miles from the sea.*

ditches reaching to the water, which were twenty yards (*dara*)[24] wide, and filled with water; they were built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls[25] is five yards, and the height twenty yards, and these are likewise built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt brick. The thickness of the four walls is fifteen yards, and the height twenty yards. It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *chaukandi*[26] which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of the fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudawand Khan, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure.

After the death of Changiz Khan, the fortress came into the possession of the Mirzas. When the Emperor marched into Gujarat, the Mirzas placed all their soldiers in the place, and left it under the command of Ham-zaban, who had formerly been one of the orderlies (*korchian*) of the Emperor Humayun, but had fled from the Imperial Court, and joined the rebels. The Mirzas themselves did their best to stir up war and strife outside.

When Ibrahim Husain Mirza was defeated and put to flight at Sarnal, the Emperor returned to Baroda, and renewed his design of conquering Surat. He sent forward Shah Kuli Khan and Sadik Khan, with instructions to invest the fort so that no one could get out. Upon this movement becoming known to the garrison, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Prince Kamran and wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, took her son Muzaffar Khan Mirza with her, and fled to the Dekhin before the arrival of

[24] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 146) uses "gaz" as the equivalent of "dara".*
[25] *diwar-i-dutahi.*
[26] *This word is used for the 'howda' of an elephant, and so by inference may mean a watch tower or a cupola; or perhaps it was something in derision of Christianity. Badauni uses the word "ghurfa, upper room" as an equivalent. See Sir H. Elliot's note in the Extract from Badauni.*

the Imperial forces. When the *amirs* heard of her escape, Shah Kuli Khan Mahram pursued her for fifty *kos*, and returned unsuccessful, but some of the Begam's servants fell into his hands. Some days afterwards the Emperor sent Raja Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report.[27]

His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Baroda on the 25th Sha'ban, and encamped at the distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th Ramazan. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among his *amirs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it. But the chief carpet-spreader brought to his knowledge through the *amirs* that there was near at hand a tank called Goli-talab, and although the bank of the tank was close to the fort, the uneven ground and the trees would prevent balls from reaching it. So the order was given for the removal of the royal tents to this spot.

The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for nearly two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress or egress was closed. (The soldiers and the followers of the *amirs* collected a vast quantity of earth, and raised a high mound, which commanded the fort. And the gunners and musketeers stationed upon the mound kept up a fire that greatly harassed the garrison, and prevented the men from moving about or bringing anything up. Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of today or tomorrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs,),[28] they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress.

[27] *He considered its reduction an easy matter, not requiring the presence of the Emperor.—'Akbar-nama.' Badauni, vol. ii., p. 144.*

[28] *The passage in parenthesis is not given in* the *MS. of the E. I. Library, but is found in the margin of the Nawab of Jhajhar's copy, from which Elliot's was transcribed. It is written in a different hand*

The wretched disloyal Ham-zaban and all the people in the fort sent out Maulana Nizamu-d din Lari, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter. The Maulana was conducted to the royal tent, and made his plea for mercy through the *amirs* and officials. The chief *amirs* reminded His Majesty that the batteries had been advanced very forward, and when they saw that he was inclined to mercy, they remarked that the garrison had resisted and fought with all their might so long as they had any power; and now that they saw that the fall of the place was imminent, they were ready to beg for mercy. His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition. Maulana Nizamu-d din Lari was allowed to pay his homage to the Emperor, and, being dismissed, he returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded.

A royal order was then issued for Kasim 'Ali Khan and Khwaja Daulat Nazir to proceed into the fortress with the Maulana, to give assurances to Ham-zaban and the men of the garrison, and to bring them out with them. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live stock and dead stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor. Kasim 'Ali and Khwaja Daulat Nazir, by order of His Majesty, brought Ham-zaban and all the men before him, and Ham-zaban, for all his fluency, hung down his head with shame, and could not speak. In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zaban and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody.[29] This conquest was effected on the 23rd Shawwal, in the year 980.[30]

from that of the MS., and does not fit in very well, with the context; but it is found in Badauni (vol. ii., p. 144). There are other similar additions, which are in accord with Badauni, and the probability is that they have been borrowed from his work.

[29] *The tongue of Ham-zaban was cut out.—Akbar-nama, of Abu-l Fazl and Faizi.*

[30] *The siege having lasted one month and seventeen days.—Akbar-nama.*

Next day the Emperor went in to inspect the fortress. After much consideration and examination, he gave orders for the necessary repairs and improvements. During his inspection some large mortars (*deg*) and guns (*zarba-zan*) attracted his attention. Those mortars bore the title of Sulaimani, from the name of Sulaiman Sultan of Turkey. When he made his attempt to conquer the ports of Gujarat, he sent these mortars and some guns,[31] which are in the fort of Junagarh, with a large army by sea. As the Turks were unable to overcome the difficulties and obstacles they encountered, and were obliged to return, they left these mortars and the gun which is now in Junagarh on the sea-shore, and returned to their country. The mortars remained upon the sea-shore until Khudawand Khan built the fortress of Surat, when he placed them in the fort. The one which was left in the country of Surath[32] was taken to the fort of Junagarh by the ruler of that country. As there was no great necessity for these mortars in the fort of Surat, the Emperor gave orders for their being removed to Agra. On the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalij Khan. On the last day of the month Raja Bihar Jiu, Raja of the country of Baglana, captured and sent to His Majesty's presence Sharafu-d din Husain Mirza, who for ten years past had been engaged in various turbulent and rebellious proceedings. His Majesty's anger had been roused by the disturbances of the country's peace, so he censured the Mirza and placed him under restraint.

When the Emperor had settled to his satisfaction all the affairs of the province, on Monday, 4th Zi-l ka'da, 980, he marched towards Ahmadabad. When he came to Broach, the mother of Changiz Khan complained to him that Jajhar Khan

[31] *The plural is here used, but it would seem that only one gun was taken to Junagarh.*

[32] *The names "Surat" and "Surath" are idèntical, both being derived from the Sanskrit 'Surashtra'; but as they belong to very different places, a distinction in spelling has been maintained. "Surat" is the city; "Surath" is a 'prant' or district of Kattiwar, of which Junagarh is the chief town.*

Habshi had unjustly killed her son, and the order was given for Jajhar Khan's being brought up to answer the charge.[33] Upon being questioned, Jajhar Khan acknowledged the deed, and the Emperor, in his indignation, ordered him to be cast under the feet of an elephant.

VARIOUS EVENTS THAT OCCURRED DURING THE SIEGE OF SURAT

While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat, several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrahim Husain Mirza to Hindustan, for the purpose of raising disaturbances. After his defeat at Sarnal, Ibrahim fled to the neighbourhood of Pattan where he joined Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza, and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consulation it was resolved that Ibrahim Husain Mirza should go into Hindustan and create disturbances, while the other two Mirzas, along with Sher Khan Fuladi, laid siege to Pattan : their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadabad, to repress these two outbreaks.[34] Having induced Sher Khan Fuladi to join them, they invested Pattan. Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders that Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan and . . . all the *jagirdars* of Malwa, Raisin, and Chanderi, and all the other nobles and adherents of the Imperial throne, such as . . . ., should assemble under the command of 'Azam Khan to repress this rebellious attempt.

The nobles accordingly joined 'Azam Khan and marched to Pattan. When they were five *kos* distant from Pattan,

[33] *He was tried and found guilty.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. iii., p. 5.*

[34] *Abul-l Fazl's view is different. He says that Ibrahim, who was as able with the sword as he was wanting in sense, quarrelled with his brothers, and left them with the crude design of making an attempt on the capital.—Akbar-nama.*

Muhammad Husain Mirza and Sher Khan Fuladi came forward to meet them.[35] The Mirzas fell upon the advance and defeated it. They then attacked the right, which was under Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, and defeated it also. Shah Muhammad Atka received a wound and fled. These two divisions being broken, fled towards Ahmadabad. Kutbu-d din's camp was plundered, and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari[36] was killed. When 'Azam Khan saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukhari, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight. But Bidagh Khan, who was himself a man of war, held his bridle, and would not let him go. When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but few in array, 'Azam Khan, with Bidagh Khan, formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side.[37] Sher Khan Fuladi, in a forlorn and helpless state, went to Amin Khan, the ruler of Junagarh, and there found refuge. Muhammad Husain Mirza fled to the Dekhin. This victory was won on the 18th Ramazan, 980.

'Azam Khan, after setting things in order at Pattan, left Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha in command as before, and went to the Emperor, whom he joined under the fort of Surat, on the 20th Shawwal, and reported the devotion and bravery of the *amirs* and all the troops. On his way back, he sent Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan and some other *amirs* to Ma'murabad, in order to chastise Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk* and the defeated troops who were scattered in the jungles and forts. Kutbu-d din drove Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk and the other *Habshis* out of the jungles, took possession of the forts, and left his own garrisons in them. When the Emperor departed from Surat for Ahmadabad, Kutbu-d din

[35] *Abdu-l Fazl and Faizi state that the rebels endeavoured to treat and gain time for the arrival of expected reinforcements.—Akbar-nama.*

[36] *He held the jagir of Dulaka.—Faizi.*

[37] *Abul-l Fazl attributes the victory to Kutbu-d din, who rallied his broken forces, and led them again to the fight.*

* *He had escaped from prison at Ahmadnagar.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 149.*

Muhammad Khan, and the *amirs* who had taken part in his campaign, joined him on the road at the town of Mahmudabad.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Wednesday, 5th Zi-l ka'da, 980 (11th March, 1573). The Emperor arrived at Ahmadabad on the last of Zi-l ka'da, and there he entrusted the government of Gujarat to Khan-i'azam (Mirza Koka)[38] On the 10th Zi-l hijja, the *'Id-zuha,* he commenced his journey to the capital. On the 18th Zi-l hijja, at the town of Haibatpur, one of the dependencies of Pattan, he gave fine robes and horses to 'Azam Khan and the other *amirs* and dismissed them to their *jagirs.* At the same place, Muzaffar Khan (late King of Gujarat) received the Imperial bounty. The *sarkars* of Sarangpur and Ujjain in Malwa were taken from the Rani and granted to him, with fifty *lacs* of *tankas* in *jagir.*[39]. He was then sent to his *jagir.* The Emperor continued his journey by Jalor towards Fathpur. At one stage from Ajmir, he received a communication from Sa'id Khan, the governor of Multan, to inform him of the death of Ibrahim Husain Mirza.

When Ibrahim Husain Mirza hurried off from Gujarat, he proceeded to the town of Mirtha.[40] At eleven *kos* from that place, he plundered a caravan which was on its way from Gujarat to Agra. Upon reaching Nagor, Farrukh Khan, son of Khan-i kalan, who governed there on behalf of his father, withdrew into the fort,[41] and the Mirza, after plundering the houses of the poor people in the environs of the city, went on to Narnaul. Rai Ram and Rai Singh, whom the Emperor had left at Joudhpur

[38] *Pattan was given to Mir Muhammad Khan-i kalan; Broach to Kutbu-d din Muhammad; and Dulaka and Danduka to Saiyid Hamid Bukhari.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 6, and MS.*

[39] *Badauni, (vol. ii., p. 149) says, "Two and a half 'krors' in 'jagir,' Sarangpur, Ujjain and he whole of Malwa."*

[40] *He had with him his youngest brother, Mas'ud Husain Mirza. —'Akbar-nama,' vol. iii., p. 8. Faizi Sirhindi.*

[41] *The Mirza besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it.— 'Akbar-nama,' vol. iii., p. 8. Faizi Sirhindi.*

with about 1,000 horse to keep open the communications when he marched into Gujarat, gathered their men and pursued the Mirza. On reaching Nagor, they joined Farrukh Khan, and continuing the pursuit, they came up with the Mirza one evening at the village of Katholi,[42] twenty *kos* from Nagor, but he took the alarm, and managed to make his escape.

On the 2nd Ramazan, 980, the troops halted on the banks of a great tank, when the Mirza, who was only a little in advance, turned back and attacked the troops which were in pursuit of him. The troops held their ground and defended themselves. Three times the Mirza, forming his men in two divisions, attacked them on two sides, and showered arrows upon them. Finding he could make no impression, he again fled. One division got seperated in the darkness, and the men were scattered in the neighbouring villages, where they were taken prisoners, and many of them were put to death. Nearly 200 fell alive into the hands of Farukh Khan and the *amirs* of Joudhpur.

The Mirza, with about 300 men who accompanied him, plundered the villages and places in their road, and crossing the Jumna and Ganges, he proceeded to the *pargana* of 'Azampur, in the district of Sambal, which had been his *jagir* while he was loyal to the Emperor. He stayed there five or six days, and then started for the Panjab. He plundered Panipat, Sonpat, Karnal, and other places on his route. Many plunderers and adventurers joined him and inflicted great wrongs upon the people.

When he reached the Panjab, Husain Kuli Khan Turkoman, *Amru-l umara* of the Panjab, was engaged with the forces of his province in besieging Kangra, well known as Nagarkot. On hearing of the Mirza's arrival, Husain Kuli Khan set off with his brother Ismail Khan, ... and other *amirs*, and by forced marches came up with the Mirza near the town of Tulambha, forty *kos* from Multan. He was returning from hunting free from apprehension and in disorder, when he was attacked. His men were dispersed and were unable to reach him. His brother Masud Husain Mirza, who had come up before him, attacked

[42] "*Kahtoli.*"—*Badauni, vol. ii., p. 150.* "*Kahntoni.*" —'*Akbar-nama,*' *vol. iii., p. 8.* "*Kahtoli.*"—*Faizi.*

the troops of Husain Kuli Khan, but was taken prisoner. Ibrahim Husain Mirza being unable to do anything, made off. Upon arriving near Multân, he wanted to pass the Gara, which is the name of the river formed by the junction of the Biyah and Satlej. But it was night, and he had no boats, so he rested on the bank. A party of *Jhils,* who are fishermen dwelling about Multan, made an attack upon him in the night, and the Mirza received a wound in his throat from an arrow. Seeing no other means of escape, he quickly changed his clothes, and separating from his people, endeavoured to get away. But some of the people of that country recognized him, took him prisoner, and carried him to Sa'id Khan at Multan, and in the custody of the Khan he died.[43]

On the 12th Muharram, 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances. From thence he started for the capital, and on reaching Sanganir, he left his camp and went on express, with a few attendants to Fathpur. In two nights and one day he reached the town of Bachuna, twelve *kos* from Fathpur. To secure an auspicious time, he remained there three days, and on the 2nd Safar he arrived at Fathpur.

MARCH OF HUSAIN KULI KHAN AGAINST NAGARKOT

(There was a brahman named Brahma Das, a bard (*badfarosh*), who was distinguished above all his compeers for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindi verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rai, chief of poets).[44]

[43] *He had received a severe wound, and died soon after his capture.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 12. Badauni, vol. ii., p. 159.*

[44] *This passage is another marginal addition apparently taken from Badauni.*

When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Raja Jai Chandar, Raja of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Raja's son, Badi Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead, broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rai the title of Raja Birbal,[45] bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot. Hereupon *farmans* were sent to Husain Kuli Khan, and the *amirs* of the Panjab commanding them to take Nagarkot from Badi Chand, and place it in the possession of Raja Birbal.[46] Birbal in Hindi signifies courageous and great, so his title means "Brave and mighty Raja".

When the Raja arrived at Lahore, Husain Kuli Khan, ... and other nobles of the Panjab, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Damhari, the holder of that place, whose name was Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakils* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keeping the roads clear. Husain Kuli Khan presented the *vakils* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at a village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards.

On arriving at the fort of Kutila, he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Raja Ram Chandar of Gwalior;[47] but Raja Dharam Chand and Raja Jai Chand had obtained possession of it by force.

The officers left in charge of the fort by Raja Jai Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Kuli Khan mounted his horse with the other *amirs* to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With

[45] *In the MSS. the name is more frequently written "Birbar"; but the more familiar form has been here adopted.*

[46] *Abu-l Fazl places this transaction in the seventeenth year of the reign.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 426.*

[47] *The Gwalior in the hills. See vol. iv. p. 494 Or. Ed.*

great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night, the Rajputs who were in the fortress and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Kuli Khan, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kutila, which he delivered over to the Raja of Gwalior, to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged; but he left a garrison of his own there.

Continuing his march, he came to a thickly wooded country, through which it was difficult even for an ant or a snake to creep; so a party of men was set to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab, 990, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot. The fortress (*hisar*) of Bhun, which is an idol temple of Mahamai, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault. A party of Rajputs, who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans, who for many years had served the temple, never gave one thought to flight, and were killed. Nearly 200 black cows belonging to the Hindus, during the struggle, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

The outer fortications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. *Sabats* were formed, and a mound commanding the fort (*sar-kob*) was raised. Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Raja. One day the commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Raja had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly

eighty people who were within the building. Among them was Bhuj deo, son of Raja Takhat Mal.

In the beginning of Shawwal, letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibrahim Husain Mirza had crossed the Satlada (Satlej), and was marching upon Dipalpur. Husain Kuli Khan held a secret council with the *amirs* about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Kuli Khan felt constrained to accede.[48] The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute : five *mans* of gold, Akbarshahi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Raja Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hafiz Muhammad Bakir read the *khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwal, 980. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor, gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *khutba* read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Kuli Khan marched away.

He then proceeded against Ibrahim Husain Mirza. At the town of Jamari he paid a visit to the holy Khwaja 'Abdu-sh shahid, who presented him with his garment, and sent his blessings with him. When he reached Tulambha, he achieved the victory, which has already been described. Upon His Majesty arriving at Fathpur after his campaign in Gujarat, Husain Kuli Khan took Mas'ud Husain Mirza with him, and went to wait upon the Emperor. The other prisoners, nearly 300 in number, were presented to the eyes of the Emperor with cow-hides placed on their necks in a strange fashion.[49] The eyes of Mas'ud

[48] *Husain Kuli required each of the 'amirs' to give him a written opinion, signed and sealed, in favour of granting a capitulation. Abu-l Fazl gives a somewhat different version of the terms. 1. The Raja was to send his daughter to the Emperor's harem. 2. To pay a proper tribute. 4. To give his children and some relations as hostages for the surrender of the fort, if the Emperor refused to ratify the peace. 4. To compensate Raja Birbal for the loss of his 'jagir.'—'Akbar-nama,' vol. iii., p. 10. Faizi Sirhindi incorporates the versions of the 'Tabakat' and 'Akbar-nama.'*

[49] *"Charmahae gao dar galu andakhtah." Such are the words in the text and in Faizi. Charm-i gao means a thong or lash, the American*

Husain Mirza were sewed up, but the Emperor in his kindness ordered them to be opened. Several of the prisoners were liberated, but some, who had taken a leading part among the rebels, were kept in custody. On the same day Sa'id Khan arrived, bringing with him as an offering the head of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, and he received distinguished marks of favour.

When the Emperor returned from Gujarat, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaign were sent to strengthen 'Azam Khan. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time, and 'Azam Khan himself wrote for reinforcements.

EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN GUJARAT

When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarat, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men, who had crept into corners and hidden themselves in dread of the royal forces, once more raised their heads. Having assembled round Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk,[50] they got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory.

Muhammad Husain Mirza left the Dekhin[51] with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kalij Khan, who was *jagirdar* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so Husain Mirza gave up the project, and made a rapid march upon Kambay.[52] Hasan Khan Karkarah, the *Shikkdar*, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadabad.[53]

Khan-i 'azam sent Naurang Khan and Saiyid Ahmad Bukhari against the Mirza, while he himself marched to

"cow-hide"; but Abu-l Fazl makes the matter clear. He says, "The prisoners were brought in cow-skins, from which the horns had not been taken away."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 14.

[50] He was in the neighbourhood of Idar, and was supported by Rái Narain, the zamindar of that place.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 13.

[51] The neighbourhood of Daulatabad.—Ib. p. 14.

[52] He got possession of Broach on his way.—Ib. p. 13.

[53] Abu-l Fazl imputes negligence to Hasan Khan.—Ib. p. 13.

Ahmadnagar and Idar against Ikhtyaru-l Mulk. When Naurang Khan and Saiyid Bukhari approached Kambay, Muhammad Husain Mirza came out to meet him. Sharp fighting went on for several days, and Saiyid Jalal, son of Saiyid Bahau-d din Bukhari, was killed. At length the Mirza was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk. 'Azam Khan, who had marched against Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days, between Ahmadnagar and Idar with no decisive result.

Intelligence now came that the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi, the son of Jajhar Khan, and Mirza Muhammad Husain had joined Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, and had formed the plan of making a rapid march by a different road to Ahmadabad. On being informed of this, Khan-i 'azam marched for that city, and when he reached it he sent a messenger to summon Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan from Broach, who accordingly marched and joined Khan-i 'azam at Ahmadabad. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk and Muhammad Husain Mirza, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujaratis, Habshis, Afghans, and Rajputs—around Ahmadabad. The Raja of Idar also kept up a connexion with them.

Khan-i 'azam and Kutbu-d din, being unable to depend upon some of their men, shut themselves up in the town, but sallied out every day, and fought under the walls. One day Fazil Khan, son of Khan-i kalan, went out and made a bold attack upon the enemy, and killed several men; but he was slain by a thrust from a spear. Khan-i'azam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for assistance. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarat, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families.

The Emperor summoned his clerks and officials, and gave them directions to provide for the outfit of an army. The former campaign had lasted a year, and the men through the length of the march were without accourtrements. After returning they had not had sufficient time to get money from their *jagirs* to replace their necessaries. His Majesty therefore issued money from the public treasury to the soldiers, and made liberal grants for

procuring the materials of war. He sent Shuja'at Khan[54] on in advance with his camp equipage, and he sent with it his horses under the charge of Khwaja Aka Khan. He personally enjoined the *diwani* officers to use the greatest despatch in outfitting the army. To expedite matters he on the same day sent the men of his advanced guard out of the city to join his camp equipage. He frequently said that although he was exerting himself in the organization and despatch of the army, no one would be ready sooner than himself to take his part in its work.

When several *amirs* with their troops had been set in motion for Gujarat, he bestowed the title of Khanjahan upon Husain Kuli Khan, who had rendered good service, and he increased his *jagirs* and allowances. He confirmed to him the government of Lahore and the *sarkar* of the Panjab, and then dismissed him to his duty. Each person who sought for an increase of dignity, or for an increase of his allowances, met with a favourable hearing. Raja Todar Mal was ordered to join Khan-jahan Husain Kuli Khan, and to give him and the *amirs* of the Panjab the benefit of his experience and advice in the management of the province. All the *amirs* of the Panjab took their leave with Khan-jahan, excepting Mirza Yusuf Khan. The Mirza and Muhammad Zaman, who exhibited great intelligence, were to accompany the Emperor. Sa'id Khan, the Ruler of Multan, was sent to his *jagir*, taking with him his brother Makhsus Khan, who had been promoted.

In the early morning of Sunday, 24th Rabi-u'l akhir, 981, the Emperor with his companions and attendants, mounted swift she-camels,[55] and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda,[56] without drawing rein. There he ate what

[54] *Raja Bhagwan Das and Rai Singh were sent with him.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 18.*

[55] *Abu-l Fazl (vol. iii., p. 18) agrees. The words used are 'jummaza' and 'naka;' and the annotator of the Akbar-nama, gives as an explanation the Hindi 'sandni.' According to Badauni (vol. ii., p. 165) the animals were bukhtis, or two-humped camels. Faizi uses both terms, jummaza and bukhti.*

[56] *About seventy miles W. by S. from Agra. "He proceeded by way of Basawar and Toda, and accomplished 100 kos in two days. On the 26th he arrived at Ajmir."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 165.*

3

he could get and continued his journey. On the morning of Monday, he took a short rest at Hans-mahal, but quickly resumed his journey. One watch of the night of Tuesday had passed, when he reached the village of Mu'izabad.[57] He was now fatigued,[58] and several of his attendants had dropped behind, so he stayed a few hours to take rest. After his attendants had come up, he mounted a fast-going cart,[59] and travelled all night. On Tuesday he reached the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti (at Ajmir)[60] where he went through the usual observances, and bestowed his gifts upon the poor. He rested for a while in the palace, which he had built for his own use, but towards the end of the day he mounted his horse, and continued his journey. Among his attendants when he started were Mirza Khan, son of Khan-khanan Bairam, Asaf Khan Koka, Zain Khan Koka, and . . . . The night was bright moonlight. In the morning they joined Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, and Muhammad Kuli Khan *Taghbani*, who had been sent on in advance from Fathpur. The intelligencers now brought the information of the royal army having marched. His Majesty alighted at the town of Pali,[61] which was near at hand, and then, having chosen Khwaja 'Abdu-lla, Asaf Khan Bakshi, and Raisal Darbari, he took them along with him. On the 2nd Jumada-l awwal, 981, he reached the town of Disa, twenty *kos* from Pattan, in Gujarat, where the *shikkdar* . . . . came forth to meet him. His Majesty now sent Asaf Khan to Muhammad Khan directing him to collect his forces and join the party at the town of Balisana, five *kos* from

[57] *Thirty miles S. W. from Jaipur.*

[58] *According to Faizi, his limbs had to be anointed with oil, to assuage the effects of the friction.*

[59] *Here the T. Alfi says they rode on swift female camels, but Abu-l Fazl agrees as to the carriages.—Akbar-nama. vol. iii., p. 19.*

[60] *Distance 140 kos—Faizi. "228 miles."—Thornton.*

[61] *The route from Ajmir was by Mirtha, thirty miles to the N. W. Jitaran forty-five miles S. W. Thirty miles farther to Sojhat, and from thence twenty to Pali. From thence to Bhagwanpur. He now wished to take the shortest road by Sirohi; but as that route was dangerous, his attendants were in favour of Jalor. The guide pretended to lose the way in the night, and they went to Jalor, and so on to Pattanwal.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 20. Faizi.*

Pattan. In the middle of the night His Majesty started from Disa for Balisana, and turning aside from Pattan, came in sight of Balisana[62] in the morning, and there halted. Here he was joined by Mir Muhammad Khan with his army and all his *amirs* and attendants, such as .... and a party of the principal Rajputs, such as Khangar, the nephew of Raja Bhagwan Das, who had previously marched from Fathpur to support Khan-i-'azam, but whom caution had restrained from advancing beyond Pattan.

An order was now issued for all the troops to appear fully armed and accourtred. The *amirs* accordingly brought out their men, and the Emperor reviewed them. Although he had full trust and hope of heavenly assistance, he neglected no material means of success. He gave the command of the centre, which is the place of the Sultan, to Mirza Khan, son of (the late) Khan-khanan Bairam Khan, a young man of great parts and promise. He also appointed Saiyid Muhammad Khan Barha, a man of great bravery, and Shuja'at Khan and Sadik Khan to the centre. The command of the right was given to Mir Muhammad Khan-i kalan, and that of the left to Wazir Khan. The advance, composed of a number of brave fellows, was placed under the command of Muhammad Kuli Khan and Tarkhan Diwana. His Majesty kept under his own immediate direction 100[63] horsemen, men who had been picked out from a thousand—a reserve intended to support any division which might be hard pressed. Strict orders were issued that no man was to stray from his place.

Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Balisana towards Ahmadabad. A messenger was sent to apprise Khan-i'azam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd Jumada-l awwal, he reached Kari, a town twenty

[62] *About five miles south-east of Pattan.*

[63] *This is the number given by Abu-l Fazl, Badauni (vol. ii., p. 166), and Firishta; but one of our MSS. has "500".*

kos from Ahmadabad. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle.[64] Orders were accordingly given to attack them, and drive them from the road, but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort. Leaving the fort untouched, in obedience to orders, the army marched five *kos* from Kari, where it rested till dawn.

As soon as it was light, the *bakhshis* drew up the forces, and marched on without drawing rein to a place about three *kos* from Ahmadabad. Orders were given for every man to arm himself, and the royal armoury was opened, so that every man who had lost or damaged a weapon might choose one to suit him. Asaf Khan was sent to Khan-i 'azam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fathpur to the outskirts of Ahmadabad, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine,[65] were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks, that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unwares, and that they would wait till he was roused.[66] When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, in amaze and alarm, rushed to their horses.[67] Muhammad Husain Mirza advanced with two or three horsemen to the bank of the river to ascertain the truth, and it so happened that Subhan Kuli Turk had also gone down to the river with two or three men from our side.

[64] *Under the command of Roliya, an officer serving under Sher Khan Fuladi.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 23.*

[65] *This is probably figurative. Badauni (vol. ii., p. 166 employs a more common simile, "the sleep of neglect."*

[66] *The battle was fought on the 5th Jumada-l awwal.—Akbar-nama vol. iii., p. 26*

[67] *Some thought a reinforcement had arrived for themselves, and others that it was a force come from Pattan to support Khan-i kalan.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 26.*

Muhammad Husain Mirza called out to Subhan Kuli, inquiring whose army it was, and he was answered that it was the Emperor, who had marched from Fathpur to punish traitors. The Mirza replied, "My spies have informed me that fourteen days ago the Emperor was at Fathpur; and if this is the Imperial army, where are the royal elephants which always accompany it?" Subhan 'Ali said, "How could elephants have travelled with us 400 *kos* in nine days?" Muhammad Husain Mirza returned amazed and troubled to his army, and drawing out his forces, he prepared for battle. He directed Ikhtiyar Khan to take 5000 horse, and prevent Khan-i 'azam from sallying out of the city.

When the time for delay drew to an end, the Emperor directed the advance to cross the river, and thatWazir Khan also should cross with the left. This being done, he himself crossed over at the head of his chosen men. Some little confusion occurred in the passage, but the troops all got over together, and advanced a short distance on the other side, when a strong force of the enemy came in view. Muhammad Husain Mirza, with 1500 Mughals,[68] all advanced force under Muhammad Kuli Khan and Tarkhan Diwana. Simultaneously the Habshis and Afghans attacked Wazir Khan, and then the fight grew close and warm.

The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness and distress in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the royal forces came up and took them in flank. Saif Khan Koka made a rash charge and was killed. Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled. The royal troops advanced and cut off some. His Majesty with several of his men drew up and stood fast. Muhammad Husain Mirza had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thorn hedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, a Turk named Gada 'Ali, who pursued him, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner.

[68] *The name is generally spelt "Mughul" in this work.*

Wazir Khan on the left fought well and bravely, but the Habshi and Gujarati troops made charge after charge, until they became acquainted with the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza. Then they also turned their backs. Mir Muhammad Khan on the right drove back the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi, and put many of their men to the sword. Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed.

Gada 'Ali Badakhshi and a servant of Khan-i kalan now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mirza a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Raja Birbal asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty;" and he spoke the truth. His Majesty spoke a few kind words to him, gave him into the custody of Rai Singha. Among the prisoners taken was a man named Mard Azamai Shah, who declared himself the Koka of Mirza Ibrahim Husain. His Majesty struck him to the earth with a spear, and the attendants cut him to pieces with their swords. It was afterwards found out that he had killed in the battle of Sarnal, Bhupat, brother of Raja Bhagwan Das.[69]

An hour after the victory was won, another large division of the enemy[70] made its appearance, and the vedettes brought the information that it was Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk Gujarati. He had been charged with the duty of closing the road against 'Azam Khan, but when he heard of the defeat of the Mirzas, he left the city roads and came out into the field. His Majesty ordered a force to advance and assail him with arrows. When he came in sight, some fierce horsemen charged and otherthrew the troop which preceded him. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk in his fright cast a look upon the hill whereon the royal standard was planted and he (and his men) ran off on both sides of it in such disgraceful panic

[69] *According to Abu-l Fazl, it was the knowledge of this fact which induced the Emperor to kill him.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 36.*

[70] *"More than 5000 in number."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 37; Badauni, vol. ii., p. 168.*

that the royal troops pulled the arrows out of the quivers of the fugitives, and used them against them. A Turkoman named Suhrab Beg now recognised Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, and pursued him. Coming to a thorn hedge, the fugitive endeavoured to make his horse leap over, but the animal threw him. Suhrab Beg dismounted and took him prisoner. Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk said, "'You look like a Turkoman, and the Turkomans are followers of 'Ali. I belong to the Saiyids of Bokhara, do not kill me." Suhrab Beg replied, "I recognized you and pursued you. You are Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk." Thus having said he cut off his head and returned to mount his horse, but some one had taken it, so he wrapped the head in the skirt of his garment and walked back. At the time that Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk advanced towards the hill on which the Emperor was standing, the Rajputs of Rai Singh, who had charge of Muhammad Husain Mirza, cast the Mirza off an elephant to the ground, and despatched him with a spear.

After the victory, 'Azam Khan and the other officers who had been besieged in the city came out to the Emperor, who bestowed upon the Khan many marks of his approval. To every one of the Khans he gave promotion or other distinctions, and he had hardly finished with them, when Suhrab Beg Turkoman came up and threw down the head of Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk. When the Emperor saw it, he praised him and liberally rewarded him; and then he ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadabad, and occupied the royal abode, which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations. He rested five days in the citadel, and then he removed to the house of 'Itimad Khan, in the middle of the city.

His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign, especially those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads

of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Agra and Fathpur.

After attending to the wants of the poor people of Ahmadabad, he sent Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan and Naurang Khan to Broach and Champanir, to uproot the power of Shah Mirza. Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, Lashkar Khan Mir-Bakhshi, and several others, were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Rana Udi Singh had abandoned. The government of Pattan was again confided to Mir Muhammad Khan (Khan-i Kalan). Wazir Khan was appointed to Dulaka and Danduka, and he was to support Khan-i 'azam.

When the Emperor had made all his arrangements, he resolved to return home, and on Sunday, 16th Jumada-l awwal, he left Ahmadabad for Mahmudabad, and rested in the lofty and fine palace of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat. Khwaja Ghiyasu-d din 'Ali Bakhshi, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Asaf Khan, and he was appointed *diwan* and *bakshi* of Gujarat, so he remained behind with Khan-i 'azam. The Emperor travelled by night from Dulaka to Kari, and from Kari also by night to Sitapur. Here a despatch was received from Raja Bhagwan Das, and Shah Kuli Mahram, reporting the capture of the fort of Barnagar,[71] and a letter of thanks was returned. He made no other halt till he reached Sirohi, where he gave Sadik Khan a commission to chastise rebels and robbers. On Wednesday, 3rd Jumada-l awwal, 981, he reached Ajmir, and immediately went to visit the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, and made liberal donations to the poor. Next day he departed, and marching night and day, he reached the village of Puna, three *kos* from Sanganir, in the *jagir* of Ram Das Kachhwaha. Here Ram Das had prepared an entertainment for His Majesty and all his attendants.

At this station Raja Todar Mal, who had been directed to fit out a thousand boats (*kishti*) and *ghrabs* at Agra, had an interview with His Majesty. The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily, so the Raja was sent to ascertain

[71] *About thirty miles east of Pattan.*

and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer. The Emperor started again at midnight, and rode to Toda, which he reached on the morning of the 6th, and, after resting for a while, he again mounted and reached Basawar in the middle of the night, where he was met by Khwaja-jahan and Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who had come out of Fathpur to meet him. At dawn he again started and went to the town of Bajuna, where he remained till the following day. He then ordered his attendants to march into Fathpur with spears in their hands. He himself followed, riding upon a gray horse, and holding a spear in his hand. Thus he reached Fathpur on Saturday, 7th Jumada-l akhir, having been absent forty-three days.

EVENTS AFTER THE EMPEROR'S RETURN TO FATHPUR

One the 25th of Jumada-l akhir, the ceremony of circumcising the young princes was performed, amid great rejoicings and congratulations. The time was now arrived for beginning the education of Prince Salim, so on the 22nd Rajab His Majesty appointed Maulana Mir Kalan Harawi to be his tutor, and to instruct him in the creed and the Kuran.[72]

Muzaffar Khan, who had been formerly appointed to the government of Sarangpur, in the territories of Ahmadabad, was summoned to Court, and on the 4th Rajab he was appointed *wazir* or prime minister of Hindustan, and received the additional title of Jumlatu-l Mulki. The general management of the affairs of the country was committed to his hands.

The debts of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari, who was killed at the battle of Pattan, and of Saif Khan Koka, who fell in the second campaign of Ahmadabad, were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. The total amounted to one *lac* of Akbarshahi rupees, equal to 2500 *tumans* of 'Irak. Such a fact has not been recorded of any king in books of history.

[72] *The translation of this and other unimportant passages of this section is abridged.*

Raja Todar Mal, who had been sent to settle the revenues of Gujarat, having made the necessary arrangements, now returned, bringing the accounts of his settlement, and suitable presents for His Majesty. He was highly applauded. After a few days the Emperor gave him one of his own swords and sent him along with Lashkar Khan Mir-bakhshi to serve under Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan, and assist in the conquest of Bengal.

Mir Muhsin Rizwi, who had been sent on a mission to the rulers of the Dekhin, returned, bringing with him the presents they had sent to His Majesty.

On the 16th Shawwal the Emperor went to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din at Ajmir, for although he had visited it this year on his return from the second campaign in Gujarat, he had now determined upon an invasion of Bengali ; and as this campaign might last longer than a year, he might be prevented from making his usual pilgrimage ; so he determined to proceed thither at once, and offer up his prayers for divine help in his war against Bengal. He accordingly set out on the 16th Shawwal, 981, and remained till the 20th in the village of Dair.[73] ...At this place Dilawar Khan, assisted by the Emperor's orderlies (*yasawals*), was directed to protect the cultivated land in the vicinity of the camp ; and besides that, trutworthy men were appointed to carefully examine the land after the camp had passed, and were ordered to place the amount of any damage done, against the government claim for revenue. This practice became a rule in all his campaigns, and sometimes even bags of money were given to these inspectors, so that they might at once estimate and satisfy the claims of the *raiyats* and farmers, and obviate any interference with the revenue collections. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he proceeded, he arrived at a spot seven *kos* from Ajmir, on the 12th Zi-l ka'da. Next day he went on foot to pay his visit to the tomb, and from thence he repaired to his palace in Ajmir. There he remained twelve days, visiting the tomb every day, and enriching the poor with his bounty.

[73] *"Four kos from Fathpur."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 171.*

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The biginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 17th Zi-l ka'da, 981 H. (11th March, 1574 A.D.)

After paying his visit to the tomb of the holy Khwaja, who is the helper and protector of kings, the Emperor started on his return from Ajmir on the 23rd Zi-l ka'da. Hunting as he went along, he arrived at Fathpur on the 17th Zi-l hijja.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST PATNA AND HAJIPUR

Sulaiman Kirani, one of the *amirs* of Salim Khan Afghan (Salim Shah), and ruler of Bengal and Bihar, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H. His eldest son Bayazid succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amirs*,[74] and the younger son Daud was raised to the throne. The Emperor was informed that Daud had stepped out of his proper sphere, had assumed the title of king, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khan-zaman built when he was ruler of Jaunpur. A *farman* was immediately sent to Khan-khanan, directing him to chastise Daud, and to conquer the country of Bihar.

At that time Daud was at Hajipur, and his chief noble, Lodi, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtas, and set up a claim to independence. Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan marched with the Imperial forces against Patna and Hajipur. Lodi, knowing the destruction of the Afghans to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Daud, made a sort of peace with Khan-khanan. The old friendship and respect which Khan-khanan had for the late Sulaiman Kirani led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of *rupees* in money and one *lac* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be

[74] *"In consequence of his evil conduct."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 173. According to Abu-l Fazl, the nephew and son-in-law of Bayazid, whose name was Hansu, took an active part in his removal. He in his turn was killed by Lodi, and Daud was placed upon the throne.—Akbar-nama.*

withdrawn. Then having sent Jalal Khan Krori, he entered into a peace with Daud.

But Daud was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlu Khan, who had for a long time held the country of Jagannath and of Sridhar Hindu Bengali, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodi his *amiru-l umara,* and put him in confinement under the charge of Sridhar Bengali. When in prison, Lodi sent for Katlu and Sridhar, and sent Daud this message, "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it ; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good. And this is my advice : After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time."

The power of Daud and of all the Afghans was on the wane : it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Daud resolved to put Lodi out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his own satisfaction. Katlu Khan and Sridhar Bengali had a bitter animosity against Lodi, and they thought that if he were removed, the offices of *vakil* and *wazir* would fall to them, so they made the best of their opportunity. They represented themselves to Daud as purely disinterested, but they repeatedly reminded him of those things which made Lodi's death desirable. Daud, in the pride and intoxication of youth, listened to the words of these sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Daud became the master of his elephants, his treasure, and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodi had concluded, he banished all care.

When the death of Lodi was reported to Khan-khanan and

his circle, which was full of *amirs* of renown, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti, and marched against Patna and Hajipur. In high spirits he arrived in the vicinity of Patna. Daud now deeply regretted the murder of Lodi, who, by his wisdom, and judgement, and devotion, had kept the affairs of Bengal in order. He marched towards Patna and was at first resolved upon battle; but he afterwards recoiled from trying an action, and resolved to take shelter in his fortifications. Khan-khanan was delighted when he was informed of this resolution, and he already foresaw the conquest of Patna and Hajipur. Daud, without drawing a sword or shooting an arrow, retired precipitately into the fort of Patna, and set about repairing the works.

Khan-khanan, with the concurrence of the *amirs*, proceeded to invest Patna. Upon hearing this, the Emperor determined to personally direct the operations against Patna and Hajipur. Acting after resting for a few days at Fathpur, he sent off his camp and elephants by land under the command of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, one of his chief *amirs*. He placed Agra in charge of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri and embarked on board a boat on Sunday the last day of Safar, 982 H. The young princes went with him. The boats carried all his equipment and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen utensils, stud, etc., etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the *amirs* for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats, and so they started. On arriving at the village of Ratambh, one of the dependencies of Agra, he stopped and sent a letter to Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan, to give information of his approach. On the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal the expedition proceeded. Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore.[75] Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops. (*Punishment of a brahman guilty of incest with his daughter*).

[75] *"In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussions upon science and poetry," etc.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 176.*

On the 23rd of the month the Emperor reached Illahabas, which is situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. This is a great place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, and contains some fine buildings. It is celebrated in all parts of the world as a holy place of the Hindus, who resort thither from all parts. On the 25th he reached Benares, from whence he sent on Sher Beg Tawachi in a boat to Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan, to apprise him of the Emperor's arrival at Benares. At that city he remained three days taking rest. On the 28th he reached the village of Kori, a dependency of Saiyidpur,[76] at the confluence of the Gumti[77] and Ganges and there anchored.[78] Here he was waited upon by Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had brought down the army by land. He now determined that until he received accurate intelligence from Khan-khanan, he and the young prince and his wives would go and stay at Jaunpur.[79] So he left the army at this encampment, and went up the Gumti in boats to Jaunpur.

On the 2nd Rabi'u-s sani he reached the village of Yahyapur, a dependency of Jaunpur. Here a despatch arrived from Khan-khanan, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he sent on the young prince and ladies to Jaunpur, and then departed on his campaign against Bengal.[80] On the 4th the boats fell down the Gumti to the Ganges, and Mirza Yusuf Khan, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla. On the 6th it encamped in the plain of Ghazipur, and the Emperor went hunting. . . . .On the 7th he halted at Gangadaspur, and here he was met by the ennuch 'Itimad Khan, a

[76] *Badauni for Saiyidpur has Jaunpur, and is probably right.*

[77] *Here called in the Ms. "Guda" and "Guri"; by Badauni "Gudi", and by Abu-l Fazl "Kudi".*

[78] *The expedition encountered three violent storms, and several boats sank.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 64.*

[79] *The T. Alfi writes the name indifferently "Jaunpur" and "Janipur".*

[80] *"News arrived on this day of the conquest of Bhakar". This is in the text, but has been placed here as a note. Badauni's version is "News arrived of the death of Sultan Mahmud of Bhakar, and of Muhibb 'Ali Khan's obtaining possession of that country."*

distinguished noble, who had been rendering good service in the siege of Patna, and who now made a full report of all the occurrences to His Majesty, and urged him to hasten forward. His Majesty thereupon directed Saiyid Mirak Ispahani, one of his principal attendants, who was learned in charms, to seek an augury in his books by sortilege. The augury was favourable, and a few days proved its truth.

On Tuesday, the 8th Rabi'u-s sani, he encamped at the ferry of Chaunsa, and here a despatch arrived from Khan-khanan, reporting that 'Isa Khan Niazi, an Afghan renowned for his courage, had made a sortie with elephants and a large force from Patna, and had attacked the besiegers. 'Isa Khan was slain by Lashkar Khan, one of the Emperor's men, and a great number of Afghans fell. This news was sent on to the princes.

On the following day Dilawar Khan was ordered to transport the army over at the ferry of Chaunsa, and on the 10th the army encamped at the village of Domni, belonging to Bhojpur. Kasim 'Ali Khan was now sent to inform Khan-khanan of the near approach of the Emperor, and to inquire what he advised to be done. The Khan advised the Emperor to advance as hitherto, himself by boat and his army by land; and he requested that some horses might be sent to replace those that had been rendered useless by the rains.[81] Horses and arms were accordingly sent. Khan-khanan and the other *amirs* advanced two *kos* from Patna to meet His Majesty, who, on the 16th Rabi'u-s sani reached his destination, and took up his abode in the tents of Khan-khanan. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made.

On the 17th Akbar called a council of war in the tents of Khan-khanan, when he observed that the siege had now lasted a long time, that he was resolved upon reducing the place, and upon crushing the defenders, so that they should be unable to make any further resistance either in the city or in the country. He thought that the best course to pursue was to first reduce the

[81] *The weather continued very stormy; heavy rains fell, and the waters were much out.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 76.*

fort of Hajipur[82] which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna, and that their operations must be directed to that object. The Khans greatly applauded this scheme. At that same council Khan-'alam was sent off with three thousand men in boats, with the materials required for a siege. Raja Gajpati, the zamindar of that country, who had many armed adherents, was directed to support Khan-'alam.

Next day, the 18th, Khan-'alam crossed the river, embarked immediately, and went to lay siege to Hajipur, while the troops marched by land.[83] In order to see the field, His Majesty mounted a battery of Shaham Khan Jalair, which was upon a hill on the bank of the Ganges; and from which Hajipur was visible. As, however, he could get no certain information of what was passing, in the evening he sent a party of men in three boats towards Hajipur to gain intelligence. When the enemy saw these boats approaching, they sent eighteen boats full of fighting men against them. But the three Imperial boats prevented them from advancing, and by hard fighting cut their way through, and joined Khan-'alam. Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor[84] Fath Khan Barha, commander of Hajipur, and many Afghans, were slain, and the place fell into the hands of Khan-'alam. The head of Fath Khan Barha and the heads of other Afghans were thrown into boats and sent to the Emperor. After offering his thanksgiving for this victory he sent the heads of Fath Khan and of the others to Daud that he might see with his own eyes what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Daud's eyes fell upon these heads he was plunged into dismay and set his mind upon flight.

On the same day, the 16th, the Emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the environs of the city, and he ascended the Panj-pahari, which is opposite the fort. This

[82] *A fort which stood opposite to Patna; the Ganges, about two kos in width, flowing between them."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 73.*

[83] *He went up the Gandak.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 75.*

[84] *Faizi Sirhindi follows this account; but Abu-l Fazl's version is somewhat different.*

Panjpahari or "Five domes," is a place built in old times by the infidels with burnt bricks in five stages. The Afghans who were on the walls and bastions of the fortress, saw the Emperor and his suite as he was making his survey, and in their despair and recklessness they fired some guns at the Panj-pahari, but they did no injury at all to any one.

When Daud saw the Imperial forces swarming in the plain, and when he was informed of the fall of Hajipur, although he had 20,000 horse, abundance of artillery, and many elephants, he determined to fly and at midnight of Sunday the 21st Rabi'u-s sani, he embarked in a boat and made his escape. Sridhar the Bengali, who was Daud's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Raja Bikramajit, placed his valuables and treasures in a boat and followed him.

Gujar Khan Kirani, who was Daud's minister[85] brought the elephants out, and fled by the rear of the city. On that dreadful night, a foretaste of the day of judgement, the inhabitants were in a state of bewlderment and despair. Some endeavoured to escape by the river, but through the crowding and struggling many of them were drowned. Others endeavoured to fly by land, but were crushed under the feet of elephants and horses in the narrow lanes and streets. Some in their despair cast themselves down from the walls and others perished in the moat. When Gujar Khan came to the Punpun[86] river, he passed his elephants over the bridge; but the fugitives in his rear so pressed and crowded upon the bridge that it broke down, and numbers were precipitated into the water. Those who came up afterwards threw away their arms and clothes and cast themselves naked into the river.

Late at night, when the flight of Daud was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light Khan-khanan having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city

[85] *His title was "Rukmu-d daula."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 181.*

[86] *A river which runs from the south, and falls into the Ganges near Patna.*

and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line "*Mulk-i Sulaiman zi Daud raft.*" (983).

The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khan-khanan in command of the army, while he himself dashed off with a detachment in pursuit of Gujar Khan and the elephants. When he reached the Punpun, he swam over on horse-back, and the *amirs* and soldiers followed his example. Then he gave orders for every officer and man to press on with all his might in the pusuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward. The *amirs*, driving Gujar Khan before them, secured Daud's elephants, and brought them to His Majesty. On reaching the *pargana* of Daryapur[87] twenty-six *kos*[88] from Patna on the banks of the Ganges, they drew rein and it was found that nearly 400 elephants[89] had been taken. His Majesty halted at Daryapur, but ordered Shahbaz Khan *Mir-bakhshi* and Majnun Khan Kakshal to continue the pursuit. They went on to the river Balbhund, seven *kos* from Daryapur. There they learned that Gujar, worn out and half dead, had passed over the river, and that some of his men had been lost in the water. Shahbaz Khan and Majnun Khan then returned.

On Monday, the 21st, Khan-khanan, according to orders, came by water to wait upon His Majesty, bringing with him the royal boats and attendant establishments. The Emperor stayed at Daryapur six days. He appointed Khan-khanan to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowances twenty-five or thirty per cent, he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agra, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khan-khanan and the other *amirs*. Next day he marched to the town of Ghiyaspur on the bank of the Ganges. There he rested four

[87] *On the right bank of the Ganges, sixty miles east from Patna.*
[88] *Abu-l Fazl makes it thirty kos.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p.* 78
[89] *Two hundred and sixty-five.—Ib.*

days, employed in the pleasing occupation of viewing the elephants captured from Daud and his Afghans. From thence he determined to go on to Jaunpur rapidly. Leaving the command of the army as usual with Mirza Yusuf Kkhan, he started at midnight of the 2nd Jumada-l awwal, 982, mounted upon an elephant of the royal forces between Daryapur and Ghiyaspur, where he witnessed some elephant fights.

At this stage Muzaffar Khan[90] who was formerly a clerk, but now an *amir* of reputation, was sent along with Farhat Khan, one of the late Emperor's slaves, and now enrolled in His Majesty's service to besiege the fortress of Rohtas, a very lofty and strong place. And he gave orders that after its capture it should be placed under the command of Farhat Khan, and that Muzaffar Khan should return to Court. On Friday, 3rd Jumada-l awwal, he proceeded to Patna, and spent a short time in examining the buildings of Daud.[91] From thence he started to make the best of his way and on Saturday, the 4th, he reached the village of Fathpur Sahina, which is twenty-one *kos* distant, and on Monday, 6th Jumada-l awwal, at mid-day, he arrived at Jaunpur. Mirza Yusuf Khan arrived with the army on the 7th. The Emperor remained at Jaunpur thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpur, Benares, the fort of Chunar, and sundry other *mahals* and *parganas* directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the management of them to Mirza Mirak Rizwi and Shaikh Ibrahim Sikri. On the 9th Jumada-s sani, 982, he departed from Jaunpur, and went to Khanpur, where he stayed four days. Here he was waited upon by Kazi Nizam Badakhshi, who (*being graciously received and appointed to office*) afterwards achieved a high position among the nobles.

[90] *Muzaffar Khan, who was appointed Prime Minister (see supra), had been since removed from office, for reasons which will appear in an Extract from the Akbar-nama. Abu-l Fazl says he was sent on this campaign to Rohtas in disgrace.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 81.*

[91] *"It is a curious fact that in this place there are thatched houses called 'chhapparband,' which, although they are covered only with wood (chob posh), are worth 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 182.*

land as being cultivated would yield a *kror* of *tankas*, should be divided off and given in the charge of an honest and intelligent officer, who was to receive the name of *krori*. The clerks and accountants of the Exchequer were to make arrangements with these officers, and send them to their respective districts, where by vigilance and attention, in the course of three years the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the revenues recovered for Government. To carry out these views, a number of the most honest and trustworthy servants of the State were selected, such as . . . .and appointed to the office of *krori*. The *amirs* also were called upon severally to appoint *kroris*, who were sent into the country upon their responsibility.

At this time Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, Jalal Khan Korchi, and some other *amirs*, were sent to effect the reduction of the fort of Siwanah, belonging to the son of Rai Mal Deo. The fort was besieged for a long time, and Jalal Khan Korchi, one of the officers of the Court, was killed there. After that Shahbaz Khan Kambu was sent there, and he took the place in a very short time. A statement was now received from the ministers (*wukala*) of Sultan Mahmud of Bakar, reporting that Sultan Mahmud was dead, and that they had no confidence in Muhibb 'Ali Khan and Mujahid Khan. If, therefore, His Majesty would send one of his officers, they would render up the fort into his charge. His Majesty accordingly sent Mir Gesu *Bakawal-begi*, who had received the title of Kisu Khan.

In this year a great pestilence (*waba*) and famine occurred in Gujarat, and lasted for nearly six months. From the severity of these calamities, the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled the country, and were scattered abroad. For all this, grain rose to the price of 120 *tankas* per *man*[96] and horses and cows had to feed upon the bark of trees.

Khwaja Aminu-d din Mahmud *Khwaja-jahan*, who was *wazir-i mustakill* of the territories of Hindustan, died at Lucknow.

[96] *Jawari rose to the price of 120 black tankas per man.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 186.*

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 29th Zi-l ka'da 982 H. (13th March, 1575).

DEFEAT OF DAUD KHAN BY KHAN-KHANAN

After the conquest of Tanda and the flight of Daud to Orissa, Khan-khanan devoted his attention to the settlement of the affairs of the country. Then he sent Raja Todar Mal with some other *amirs* towards Orissa, in pursuit of Daud. He appointed Majnun Khan Kakshal to the government of Ghoraghat. When the Khan proceeded to Ghora-ghat[97] Sulaiman Mangali, the *jagirdar* of the place, and one of the bravest of the Afghans, collected a force to resist his taking possession. Some sharp fighting followed, and Sulaiman was killed, and the wives and children of him and other Afghans were made prisoners. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Kakshals. Majnun Khan married Sulaiman's daughter to his own son Jabbari. He then went on to Ghora-ghat, and after dividing the whole of the country among the Kakshals, he made a report to Khan-khanan.

Raja Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of Daud, when he reached Madaran,[98] was informed by his scouts that Daud was engaged collecting men in Din-kasari, and that his forces were daily increasing. Todar Mal stopped at Madaran, and wrote a full report from thence to Khan-khanan. On receiving it, the Khan sent Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas . . . . with reinforcements for the Raja. Upon their arrival, all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowalpara, ten *kos* from Dinkasari, with all speed. When Daud heard this he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dharpur.[99]

The spies now brought in information that Junaid, son of

[97] *Forty-eight miles S.E. of Dinajpur.*

[98] *In the Hugli district beween Burdwan and Midnapur. See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 375.*

[99] *"A place lying between Bengal and Orissa."—Ak.-nama, vol. iii., p. 99.*

Daud's uncle, a man of high repute among the Afghans for bravery and resolution, who had formerly come into the service of the Emperor, but fled from Agra to Gujarat, and afterwards came from Gujarat to Bengal, was now at Din-kasari, seeking to form a junction with Daud. Raja Todar Mal, with the approval of the other *amirs*, sent Abū-l Kasim Namaki and Nazar Bahadur to attack Junaid. These men, making light of the matter, neglected the precautions necessary in warfare, and were defeated by Junaid, thus bringing disgrace upon themselves.

Raja Todar Mal, on receiving the news, with the approval of his *amirs*, marched against Junaid ; but before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into the jungles. Todar Mal therefore stopped at Midnapur. Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas died here after a few days' illness. He was an able man, and his loss was a great cause of weakness in the Imperial forces.

In concurrence with the remaining *amirs*, Raja Todar Mal returned from Midnapur to Madaran. Here Kiya Khan Gang, being offended with the other *amirs*[100] without reason, went off into the jungle. Todar Mal reported the fact to Khan-khanan and remained for somedays in Madaran. Hereupon Khan-khanan sent Shaham Khan Jalair an . . . . to support Raja Todar Mal. When they joined the Raja at Burdwan, the Raja left them, and went out into the jungle after Kiya Khan, and having pacified him, brought him back with him. From Madran they marched to Jitura. There they were informed that Daud, with his forces, had gone into the fort of Katak Banaras,[101] and was engaged in preparations for war.

Raja Todar Mal halted, and sent swift messengers in inform Khan-khanan of the position of affairs. Khan-khanan then left Tanda to march against Daud, and he formed a junction with Raja Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghans entrenched their camp.

[100] *With Khan-khanan in particular.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 98.*

[101] *Attock and Cuttack, at the two extremities of the Empire, both have the word Banaras (Benares) added to their names in the Tabakat.*

On the 20th Zi-l ka'da 982[102] the armies met.[103] After the array was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khan-khanan ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarb-zan*) and light guns (*zamburak*), which were mounted on *arabas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afghans who who were in the advance. Gujar Khan, with his division in excellent order, now came up boldly, and drove back Khan-khanan's advanced force upon the *Altamsh*.[104] Khan-i alam, who commanded the advance, held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamsh* division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty. Khan-khanan did all in his power, but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gujar Khan attacked and wounded Khan-khanan, and as the latter had no sword, he returned Gujar Khan's cuts with slashes of his whip. In this conjuncture Khan-khanan's horse took fright; and although his rider was anxious to stop him and rally the fugitives, he could not restrain him. The Afghans pursued Khan-khanan for half a *kos*, when Kiya Khan Gang attacked the Afghans, and showered arrows upon them. The Afghans were exhausted by their long ride, and could not move. Then Khan-khanan got his horse under control, and rallying his men, led

[102] *This date shows that Abu-l Fazl is right in placing the battle in the nineteenth year of the reign. Several lines are occupied with the names of the amirs in command of the various divisions of the two armies.*

[103] *"at Bajhora."—Badauni, vol., p. 194. The MSS. of the Akbar-nama, have "Takaroi.' The name is not given in the MSS. of the Tabakat, nor in the Akbar-nama. of Faizi Sirhindi. Blochmann finds the locality of the battle in the Trigonometrical Map of Orissa, in two places called Mughulmari (Mughal's fight), and "Tookaroe," a village about seven miles southwards, half way between Mughalmari and Jalesar (Jellasore), and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river lat. 21° 53'. The battle extended over a large space. Badauni (vol. ii., p. 195) speaks of three or four kos, i.e., about six miles.—See Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 375.*

[104] *Altamsh is a Turki word meaning "sixty," and it is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general.—See supra.*

them back to the field. They discharged showers of arrows, and by the guidance of fate, an arrow struck Gujar Khan, and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled ; but many of them were cut down in their flight. Raja Todar Mal, Lashkar Khan, and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham khan and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Daud. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of his army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. The banner of Khan-khanan now became visible, and the death of Gujar Khan came to the knowledge of Daud. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khan-khanan encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, to have his wounds tended, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword. Lashkar Khan *Mir-bakhshi*, who had rendered such good service, died of his wounds before the army moved.

CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH DAUD : HIS INTERVIEW WITH KHAN-KHANAN

After his defeat, Daud fled to Katak Banaras (Cuttack) in the centre of Orissa, and Khan-khanan, who remained stationary on account of his wounds, held a council, in which he and his *amirs* determined to pursue Daud.[105] Raja Todar Mal and . . . . were directed to proceed after him, and it was agreed that Khan-khanan himself would follow as soon as his wounds permitted. The Raja and his *amirs* accordingly started, and did not halt until they reached Kalkal-ghati.[106] After resting there a while,

[105] *"A large number of Afghan prisoners were put to death by order of Khan-khanan."—T. Alfi.*

[106] *Abu-l Fazl calls the place "Bhadrak." The "Bhudruck" of Thornton, north of Cuttack. Badauni and Faizi Sirhindi follow the Tabakat, and have "Kalkal-ghati."*

the scouts brought in the intelligence that Daud and the Afghans, with their wives and children, were shut up in the fort of Katak Banaras. Reduced to extremities, and having no other refuge, the men were resolved upon fighting, and fugitives from the field of battle daily gathered round them. Raja Todar Mal sent a report of the state of affairs to Khan-khanan,[107] and the Khan set out for Katak Banaras, never resting till he came within two *kos* of that place. Then he held a council with his *amirs*, and having pitched his camp on the banks of the Mahanadi, which is half a *kos* from Katak, he began to collect materials for a siege.

Daud had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gujar Khan, his mainstay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khan-khanan with a message to this effect: "The striving to crush a party of Musulmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal sufficient for my support may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel".—The *amirs* communicated this to Khan-Khanan, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal,[108] upon the condition that Daud himself should come out to meet Khan-khanan, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths.[109]

Next day[110] Khan-khanan ordered a grand Court to be held, and all the nobles and attendants to be present in their places

[107] *According to Abu-l Fazl, the Raja's men were despondent, and he was obliged to call for support.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 107*

[108] *Raja Todar Mal, who well understood the true position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet (to prevent the armistice), met with no support." He refused to take any part in the settlement.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 108.*

[109] *The terms were that Daud was to do homage of service, to surrender his best elephants, and pay up his tribute. Eventually he was to go to Court and do homage in person, but for the present some relations were to be sent as hostages. His nephew Shaikh Muhammad was the hostage.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 108.*

[110] *1st Muharram, 983 (12th April, 1575).—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 108.*

in fine array, and the troops drawn up in arms in front of the tents. Daud came out of the fort, attended by his Afghan nobles and officers, and proceeded to the tent of Khan-khanan. When he approached it, Khan-khanan, with great courtesy and respect, rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Daud loosened his sword from the belt and holding it before him, said, "I am tired of war since it inflicts wounds on worthy men like you." Khan-khanan took the sword, and handed it to one of his attendants. Then gently taking Daud by the hand, he seated him by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. Food and drink and sweetmeats were served, of which the Khan pressed him to partake.

After the dishes were removed, the terms of peace came under discussion. Daud protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne, and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khan-khanan brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Daud, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition granting this to you as my *tankhwah* has been granted to me. I now gird you afresh with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khan-khanan started on his return.

On the 10th Safar, 983, he reached Tanda the capital, and sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khan-khanan, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

While Khan-khanan was occupied at Katak Banaras, the sons of Jalalu-d din Sur, in concert with the *zamindars* of Ghora-ghat attacked and defeated Majnun Khan, drove him to

the neighbourhood of Tanda, and captured the fort of Gaur. Mu'in Khan and Majnun Khan provided for the security of Tanda, and awaited intelligence of Khan-khanan's success. When his return became known, the insurgents scattered and hid themselves in the jungles.[111]

BUILDING OF AN 'IBADAT-KHANA

The Emperor had from his early youth taken delight in the society of learned and accomplished men, and had found pleasure in the assemblies of men of imagination and genius. He always treated them with the greatest respect and honour, and frequently graced their heavenly meetings. He listened to their discussions of nice points of science, of the ancient and modern history of religions and people and sects, and of all matters of wordly interest; and he profited by what he heard. His great favour for such men, led him at the time of his return from Ajmir in the month of Zi-l ka'da, 982, and in the twentieth year of his reign, to issue his commands for skilful architects and clever builders to erect in the gardens of the royal palace a refuge for *sufis*, and a home for holy men, into which none should be allowed to enter but *saiyids* of high rank, learned men (*'ulama*) and *Shaikhs*. In obedience to the Imperial commands, skilful architects planned a building, containing four halls (*aiwan*), and in a brief period completed it. When this happy abode was finished, the Emperor used to go there on Friday nights and on holy nights, and pass the night until the rising of the sun in the society of distinguished men. It was arranged that the western hall should be occupied by *saiyids*, the south by the learned (*'ulama*) and the wise, the northern by *shaikhs* and men of ecstasy (*arbab-i hal*); all without confusion or inter-mixture. The nobles and officers of the Court, whose tastes were in unison with those of men of greatness and excellence, were to sit in the eastern hall. His Majesty graced each of the four halls with his presence, and enriched those present with his gifts and bounty. The members of the assembly used to select a number of the

[111] *Abu-l Fazl says that Mu'nim Khan went to Ghora-ghat, and suppressed the insurrection.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 140.*

most worthy among those present to be presented to His Majesty, and to receive from him handfuls of *ashrafis* and rupees. Those, who from evil fortune did not participate in the royal bounty in the evening, used to sit down in rows before the *'ibadat-khana* on Friday mornings, and receive handfuls of *ashrafis* and rupees from His Majesty's own hands. This assemblage used frequently to last beyond mid-day on Fridays. Sometimes, when His Majesty was tired, one of the attendants of the Court, in whose kindness and gentleness he had confidence, was deputed to perform this duty . . . .

In this year Gulbadan Begam, daughter of the Emperor Babar, and aunt of Akbar, piously undertook the journey to Mecca. When Gujarat was annexed to the Imperial dominions, he determined that every year one of the officers of his Court should be appointed Mir Haji, or Leader of the Pilgrims, to conduct a caravan from Hindustan, like the caravans from Egypt and Syria, to the holy places. This design was carried out, and every year a party of enlightened men of Hind, of Mawarau-n nahr, and Khurasan, received provision for their journey from the royal treasury, and went under the appointed leader from the ports of Gujarat to the holy places.[112] Never before had any monarch provided for the annual departure of a caravan from India, nor had any one furnished means to the needy, to enable them to perform the pilgrimage. Gulbadan and Salima Sultan Begam[113] now obtained the Emperor's permission to go the pilgrimage, and received from him a sum of money for the expenses of the journey. All the pious poor who desired to join in the pilgrimage obtained the means of travelling.

ARRIVAL OF MIRZA SULAIMAN

Mirza Sulaiman had been ruler of Badakhshan since the time of the Emperor Babar. He had a son, Mirza Ibrhim, a fine intelligent young man, who was taken prisoner in battle and killed

[112] *After five or six years, this arrangement was set aside".—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 213.*

[113] *Daughter of Nuru-d din Muhammad Mirza, who was married to Bairam Khan" (see supra).—Badauni vol. ii., p. 213.*

by the adherents of Pir Muhammad Khan Uzbek, in the year that Mirza Sulaiman invaded Balkh. Mirza Ibrahim left a son, Shah Rukh by name, whom Sulaiman carefully brought up, and to whom, in spite of his tender age, he gave several districts of Badakhshan.

When Shah Rukh arrived at years of discretion, and Mirza Sulaiman grew old, some designing people incited the youth with stories of his rights. But the Mirza's wife was a clever woman; she kept a sharp watch over Shah Rukh, and prevented any outbreak. But when she died, these same people stirred up Shah Rukh's ambition to be ruler of Badakhshan. He came from Kunduz to Kolab, and being supported by his party, the whole of Badakhshan, from Hisar Shadman to Kabul, fell into his hands, and he wanted to send his grandfather to join his father.

Mirza Sulaiman fled in great distress to seek assistance from Muhammad Hakim Mirza. But he did not meet with the reception he expected, so he begged to be sent on to the Indus. Hakim Mirza did not comply with this trifling request. He sent him a party of pretended guides, who left him at the first stage and fled to Kabul. But Mirza Sulaiman, trusting in God, continued his journey,[114] and although he was sometimes opposed by the Afghans, and had to fight his way, and was wounded by an arrow, he at length reached the Indus. Thence he wrote to the Emperor, who sent him 50,000 rupees, horses, and necessaries, by the hand of Khwaja Aka Khan, ... and after some days Raja Bhagwan Das[115] came to the Indus with an escort, and conducted him honourably to Lahore.

At this time a *farman* was sent to summon 'Azam Khan from Gujarat, and he arrived at Court[116] with speed and alacrity. Some cavillers and fault-finders made insinuations about his management of affairs,[117] and the Khan, in defending himself,

[114] *He had his daughter with him.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 214.*

[115] *Then ruler of Lahore.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 214.*

[116] *On the 4th Rajab, 983 H.*

[117] *Abu-l Fazl (Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 126) says the charge was about the branding of the horses; but Badauni (vol. ii., p. 214) states that there were complaints also against his revenue, military and general administration. They agree that he was sent into retirement.*

passed the bounds of prudence and respect, and made use of unseemly words, which brought upon him the displeasure of the Emperor. Thereupon the Khan, forgetful of his duty, retired to his garden at Agra, shut himself up alone, and refused admission to everybody.

Mirza Sulaiman, after staying a few days at Lahore, started for Fathpur. On reaching Mathura, twenty *kos* from Fathpur the Emperor sent...several nobles to meet him, and to arrange for his meeting the Emperor on the 15th Rajab, 983. All the nobles and officers were sent out to the distance of five *kos* from Fathpur to receive him. And when intelligence of his having left this stage was brought, the Emperor himself went out on horseback to meet him. Five thousand elephants, with housings of velvet and brocade, with gold and silver chains, and with white and black fringes on their necks and trunks, were drawn up in lines each side of the road to the distance of five *kos* from Fathpur. Between each two elephants there was a cart (*araba*), the *chitas* in which had collars studded with gold and housings of fine cloth; also two bullock-carts, which had animals that wore gold embroidered headstalls.

When all the arrangements were made, the Emperor went out with great pomp and splendour. Upon approaching, the Mirza hastened to dismount, and ran forward to His Majesty; but the Emperor observing the venerable age of the Mirza, also alighted from his horse, and would not allow the Mirza to go through the usual observances and ceremonies. He fondly embraced him; then he mounted and made the Mirza ride on his right hand. All the five *kos* he inquired about his circumstances, and on reaching the palace he seated him by his side on the throne. The young princes also were present, and were introduced to the Mirza, and after a great entertainment, he gave the Mirza a house near to the royal palace. On this occasion an order was issued to Khan-jahan, the ruler of the Panjab, to take 5000 horse and proceed to Badakhshan in attendance on the Mirza, to recover the country and restore it to him, and then to return to Lahore.

DEATH OF KHAN-KHANAN MU'NIM KHAN

When Khan-khanan, with his mind at ease about Daud, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his evil destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal,[118] and he ordered that all the soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tanda to Gaur. In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave,[119] and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached to such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river.[120] Every day the deaths of many *amirs* and officers were reported to Khan-khanan, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days, in the month of safar,* 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khan Jalair in command,[121] and made a report of the facts to the Emperor. Khan-khanan had no son, so all

[118] *He was influenced by two reasons. It was on the side of the river nearest to Ghora-ghat, the seat of the rebellion, and it contained many handsome and convenient buildings.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 140. Faizi Sirhindi.*

[119] *Az gaur ba gor; the two words being written exactly alike. A neat though misplaced pun.*

[120] *"Out of the many thousand men that were sent to that country, not more than a hundred were known to have returned in safety."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 217.*

* *The Akbar-nama says Rajab, which might be true.*

[121] *Upon this appointment, Badauni, in his caustic way, quotes the proverb.—"In the treeless land the shrub Palma Christi is a tree."*

5

his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khan-jahan, who had been supreme governor of the Panjab, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *Amiru-l umara*, commended the *raiyats* and people to his tender care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly-caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government. Khan-jahan, furnished with full credentials, then departed to assume his authority.

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Zi-l hijja 983 H (11th March, 1576 A.D.).

MIRZA SULAIMAN'S JOURNEY TO MECCA

The Emperor had determined that Khan-jahan should march with the army of the Panjab to recover the country of Badakhshan, but fate ruled otherwise. Khan-khanan, the ruler of Bengal, was removed by death, and the Emperor deeming the retention and administration of that country more important than the conquest of Badakhshan, sent Khan-jahan thither. When Mirza Sulaiman saw this change of fortune, he sought leave of the Emperor, through the officers of state, to go on the pilgrimage. The Emperor complied with his request, and furnished him with 50,000 rupees in cash, besides other things required for the journey. He sent with him, to attend upon him in his journey to the coast, Muhammad Kalij Khan, one of the chief nobles, who had been appointed governor of Surat. When the Mirza went on board ship, twenty thousand rupees more were given to him out of the revenues of Gujarat. The Mirza performed the pilgrimage in the same year, and afterwards returned and recovered his kingdom of Badakhshan.

On the 7th Zi-l ka'da, 984, the Emperor set off on a visit to Ajmir. He hunted as he went, and on the 4th Zi-l hijja he encamped at ten *kos* from Ajmir. He afterwards, as usual, walked five *kos* on foot to the tomb of the saint. and after going through

all the observances of the pilgrimage, he gave away two thousand rupees in charity.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 20th Zil hijja, 984 H. (11th March, 1577 A.D.).

While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Daud Afghan had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khan-khanan, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tanda. The Imperial officers in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hajipur and Patna. All this commotion had arisen because Khan-jahan had taken his time in going there in consequence of his army being at Lahore. Upon receiving this intelligence, the Emperor sent a latter by Subhan Kuli Turk to Khan-jahan, directing him to take with him all the *amirs* and *jagirdars* who had abandoned Bengal, and to march against Daud. In twenty-two days Subhan Kuli travelled nearly a thousand *kos*,[122] (!) and delivered the *farman* to *Khan-jahan*. The Khan took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with three thousand men whom Daud had left in charge of Garhi, and took the place. Nearly fifteen hundred of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.

Whilst the Emperor was staying at Ajmir, he sent Kunwar Man Singh, a brave and able man, with five thousand horse against Rana Kika.[123] He also sent Kazi Khan Badakhshi, . . . and other ambitious young men with him. Asaf Khan was appointed *Mir-bakhshi* of this army. His Majesty presented Kunwar Man Singh and all the *amirs* and *sardars* of the army with robes and horses. After fitting out this army, he started to return on the 1st Safar, 985 H.

122 *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 227) confirms this.*

123 *"Against Kokanda and Kombalmir, the territory of Rana Kika." —Badauni, vol. ii., p. 228. Kombalmir is in the Aravalli mountains, about forty miles north of Udipur.*

After his arrival at Fathpur, messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khan-jahan, after the capture of Garhi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. There he found that Daud had evacuated Tanda, and had taken up a position in the village of Ak.[124] On one flank was the river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khan-jahan marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwaja 'Abdu-lla, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall, the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Patna and Bihar, to assemble all the troops in his province, and to march to the assistance of Khan-jahan. In a few days, a letter arrived from Khan-jahan, with the news that there had been a battle with the enemy, in which the royal troops had fought bravely, and had won a victory, in which they killed the comcomander of the enemy's army, who was called Khan-khanan.

DEFEAT OF RANA KIKA BY KUNWAR MAN SINGH

RANA KIKA was chief among the Rajas of Hindustan. After the conquest of Chitor, he built a town called Kokanda,[125] with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hinduwara. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Man Singh[126] drew near to Kokanda, Rana Kika called all the Rajas of Hinduwara to his aid, and came out of Ghati Haldeo[127] with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Man Singh, in agreement with his *amirs*, put his troops in array and marched to the battlefield. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and

[124] *Or "Ak-mahal" or Aga-mahal, afterwards called "Raj-mahal" by Raja Man Singh, when governor of Bengal. The ancient name was Raja-griha.*

[125] *This is the spelling of our MSS., of Badauni and of the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-nama. Todd calls the place "Gogoonda." Blochmann (Ain-i-Akbari. vol. i., p. 339) writes it "Gogandah."*

[126] *Man Singh was supported by Asaf Khan, and marched from Ajmir by way of Mandalgarh.—Badauni vol. ii., p. 230.*

[127] *Or Haldi-ghat.*

the battle raged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rajputs in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.[128] Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more than 500 Rajputs of the enemy's army were sent to perdition.[129] The enemy lost Rameswar Gwaliari and his son,[130] and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rana Kika fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rajputs, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Man Sing wrote an account of his victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Rana Kika, and again returned thanks to the Almighty (*Sic*). Rana Kika fled into the high hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Man Sing and his *amirs* with robes and horses.

KHAN-JAHAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST DAUD

WHEN the battle fought by Khan-jahan became known to the Emperor, he sent five *lacs* of rupees by *dak-chauki* towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Agra, for the use of the army. . . .

Gajpati was a *zamindar* in the neighbourhood of Hajipur and Patna, who had been enrolled among the partisans of the

[128] *The Rajputs of the royal army were commanded by Raja Lon Karan of Sambhar.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 331.*

[129] *Badauni was in this battle and gives a detailed account of it. The Imperialists had a hard victory, and were much indebted to their Hindu auxiliaries on this, as on many other occasions. But notwithstanding this and the enlightened policy of the Emperor, the Musulman generals could not repress their contemptuous hatred of the infidel. Badauni (vol. ii., p. 231) relates that he was with a party of the advanced force, and in the middle of the fight he asked Asaf Khan how they were to distinguish between their Rajput friends and foes. They were told to shoot at a venture, let the consequences be what they might. "So" says he, "we kept up the discharge of arrows, and our aim at that mountain-like mass (of men) never failed."*

[130] *Named "Salibahan" (Badauni, vol. ii., p. 233). The Jai Mal referred to was the hero of Chitor.*

Emperor. When Muzaffar Khan went with reinforcements to Khan-jahan, leaving this country void of troops, he collected a party and attacked Farhat Khan and his son Mirak Rawi, who were at the station of Arah. In the fight which ensued Farhat Khan and his son were killed. Great disturbances followed, and the roads were closed.

When intelligence of this reached the Emperor at Fathpur, on the 25th Rabi'u-l akhir he set off. At five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by 'Abdu-lla Khan, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khan-jahan, and who now returned to cast the head of Daud at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory, he returned to the capital.

Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khan thus rehearsed the story of the victory. Muzaffar Khan arrived with the forces of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna, amounting to nearly 5000 horse, and joined Khan-jahan. On the 15th Rabi'u-l akhir, 984, they drew out their forces and attacked the enemy. Daud also, supported by his uncle Junaid Kirani and other Afghan chiefs, made his dispositions. Junaid was struck by a cannon-ball. His leg was broken. After a while the armies closed with each other, and the enemy was defeated. Daud being left behind, was made prisoner, and Khan-jahan had his head struck off, and sent it to His Majesty. Great spoil and many elephants fell into the hands of the victors. . . .

At this time, Sultan Khwaja was appointed Mir Haji, and a sum of six *lacs* of rupees in cash and goods was assigned for the benefit of the poor people about to make the pilgrimage to the holy places, and given into his charge. He was directed to furnish what was necessary to any one desirous of being a pilgrim, and many benefited by this liberality.

(The annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din at Ajmir)

It has already been related how Raja Man Singh defeated Rana Kika, and occupied his country—how the Rana fled into the high hills, and how the army penetrated to Kokanda,

which was the Rana's home. The roads to this place were so difficult that little grain reached it, and the army was nearly famished. The order was given for Man Singh to fall back quickly, and he very soon arrived at the Emperor's throne. When the distress of the army was inquired into, it appeared that, although the men were in such great straits, Kunwar Man Singh would not suffer any plundering of Rana Kika's country. This caused the Emperor to be displeased with him, and he was banished from Court for a time.[131] After a while he was forgiven, and was sent at the head of a force to ravage the Rana's country. It must be understood that in the language of Hind "Kunwar" signifies "son of a Raja." On the 19th of the month the army marched from Ajmir towards the Rana's country.

KHWAJA SHAH MANSUR MADE DIWAN

SHAH MANSUR, a Shirazi clerk, at the beginning of his career was employed in the royal perfumery department. But Muzaffar Khan was then in power, and he caused him to be first imprisoned and afterwards banished from Court. He then entered the service of Khan-khanan Mu'nim Khan at Jaunpur, and rose to be his *diwan*. The conversation of the Khan made his abilities known to the Emperor, and after Khan-khanan's death, Mansur was summoned to Court, and appointed to the office of *diwan* in chief.[132]

Sultan Khwaja had been appointed Mir Haji, or Leader of the Pilgrims, and as the road to Gujarat *via* Kokanda was nearest, Kutbu-d din Khan . . and the other *amirs* were ordered to escort the caravan through Kokanda. They were directed to plunder and lay waste the country of Rana Kika, and to follow him up, and harry him wherever they might hear of him. When Sutan Khwaja was about to depart on the pilgrimage, the Emperor, acting after the manner of pilgrims, stripped himself, put

[131] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 240) tells us that Asaf Khan fell into disgrace along with the Kunwar; but that the others, including Badauni himself, received rewards and promotion.*

[132] *Abridged translation.*

on the *ihram* or pilgrim's garment, and went some steps after the Khwaja.[133] A cry arose from those present, and their voices were raised in benediction and praise.

When His Majesty reached the *pargana* of Mohi,[134] news came in from the front that Kutbu-d din Khan and the other *amirs*, on arriving at Kokanda, found that the Rana had fled into the hills. Orders were then given for Kutbu-d din and Raja Bhagwan Das to remain at Kokanda, and for Kalij Khan and the other *amirs* to accompany the caravan of pilgrims as far as Idar. The *amirs* were to stop at Idar, and lay siege to it; but they were to send on an escort with the caravan as far as Ahmadabad, forty-eight *kos* from Idar. When Kalij Khan arived there, he found that the Raja[135] had fled into the hills, but that a party of Rajputs remained in the temple resolved upon death. They were all killed in a short time. Next day Kalij Khan sent on Timur Badakhshi with the caravan to Ahmadabad. Here Shahabu-d din Ahmad . . . . and other *jagirdars* of Malwa came in to pay their respects.

GRANTS OF MANSABS TO VARIOUS CHIEFS

When the Emperor reached Udipur, a despatch arrived from Sultan Khwaja, the Mir Haji, from the port of Surat, reporting that, owing to no pass (*kaul*) having been obtained from the Europeans, the ship was useless. The Emperor directed a messenger to be sent to Kalij Khan to bring him quickly to Surat, in order to secure the departure of the vessel. During Kalij Khan's absence, Asaf Khan was to have the command of his army.

Kutbu-d din Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das returned from Kokanda, and waited upon the Emperor. Shah Fakhru-d din and Jagannath were left in Udipur, and Raja Bhagwan Das and Saiyid 'Abdu-lla Khan were left in Dhauli-ghati of Udipur. When

[133] *According to the Akbar-nama (vol. iii., p. 165) the Emperor had a strong desire to go on the pilgrimage but was dissuaded by his friends and counsellors.*

[134] *"Mohani."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 241.*

[135] *"Narain Das" by name—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 241.*

His Majesty came into the territory of Banswala (Banswara) and Dungarpur, the Rajas and *zamindars* of the country came to wait upon him with their offerings, and were right royally received.[136] Here also Raja Todar Mal came from Bengal to wait upon him, bringing nearly 500 elephants from the spoils of Bengal, with other presents and offerings. Kalij Khan also arrived to attend upon him, and was sent to Surat to despatch the ships. He went along with Kalyan Rai, a merchant (*bakkal*); and having got passes (*kaul*) from the Europeans, he sent off the ships. He quickly returned, and waited upon His Majesty, while he was in Malwa. After arranging his posts (*thanajat*) to his satisfaction, and securing the loyalty of the *zamindars*, he entered Malwa.

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H.[137] (11th March, 1578).

The festivals of the Nau-roz and of the Emperor's accecsion were celebrated in the *pargana* of Dipalpur, a dependency of Malwa. The Emperor devoted his attention to measures for increasing the prosperity of this country, and the *raiyats* waited upon him in parties, and made statements of their circumstances. He paid the kindest attention to every one's case, and made a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of the province. Many *zamindars* became submissive and obedient to his will.

Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, had not been duly subordinate, and it being deemed necessary to chastise

[136] *Abu-l Fazl specifies "Rawal Partab, chief of Banswara, and Rawal Askaran, chief (marzban) of Dungarpur".—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 169.*

[137] *The Ms. has 985, but this is a manifest error. The Akbar-nama (vol. iii., p. 203) is correct. The twenty-second year began (supra) on the 20th Zi-l hijja, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985, and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abu-l Fazl in the twenty-second. See Table, supra.*

him, several *amirs*, such as Shahabu-d din Ahmad and . ., with other *jagirdars* of Malwa, were sent against him. Shahabu-d din was appointed commander. Shahbaz Khan, the *Mir-bakhshi*, was to check the brands (of the horses) and the muster of the army. The other *amirs* were to exercise their diligence, and secure the speedy departure of the force.

At this same place Raja Todar Mal was commissioned to settle the revenue and other affairs of the province of Gujarat. News also was brought from the force at Idar, that a battle had been fought with Raja Narain Das and a victory gained. The particulars of the occurrence were these: When Muhammad Kalij Khan, in obedience to orders, repaired to the Imperial camp along with 'Ali Murad Uzbek, the army was left under the command of Asaf Khan. Intelligence came in that the Raja of Idar, with a number of Rajputs who had been driven from their homes, together with some *zamindars* of the country, and supported by Raja Kika, had gathered a force which was posted ten *kos* distance, and contemplated a night attack. When this intelligence was confirmed, Asaf Khan and . . . held a council. About 500 men were left to secure the camp, and the rest of the force was called out at midnight and marched towards the enemy. On the morning of the 4th Zi-l hijja, after marching seven *kos*, they encountered the foe, and a bettle began. Mirza Muhammad Mukim, who led the advance, was killed; but the enemy was defeated. Raja Narain Das fled, and the chiefs of the royal army obtained the victory. Asaf Khan's despatch gave His Majesty much pleasure, and he ordered letters thanks to be written to the *amirs* and officers of the army.

When His Majesty had arranged the affairs of Malwa, and settled the matters of the *amirs* of Asir and Burhanpur, he turned homewards; and, hunting as he went, he arrived at Fathpur on Sunday, 23rd Safar. After three months, troubles arose in Gujarat, through the coming thither of Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son of Ibrahim Mirza, who was son of the daughter of Kamran Mirza. The circumstances of his case are these: When the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat, Gulrukh Begam, daughter of Kamran and wife of Ibrahim, carried off her child

Muzaffar Husain, as has been related in the account given of the conquest of Ahmadabad. A disaffected man named Mihr 'Ali, a servant of the late Ibrahim Mirza, who accompanied Gulrukh Begam when she fled from Surat to the Dekhin, now stirred up the ambition of Muzaffar Husain, who was fifteen or sixteen years of age. He induced him to leave the Dekhin, and collect-a number of adventurers from all directions, he entered Gujarat intent upon insurrection.

At this time Raja Todar Mal was in Pattan, engaged in the settlement of the revenue. The insurrection spread, and the disaffected were everywhere raising their heads. Wazir Khan, the ruler of Gujarat, had 3,000 horsemen, but there were amongst them many adventurous men upon whom he could not rely, so he retired into a fortress, and sent an account of the occurrences to Raja Todar Mal. Before the Raja came to his assistance. Baz Bahadur, son of Sharif Khan, and Baba Gadai, the *diwan* of Gujarat, attacked Muzaffar Husain in the *pargana* of Nandurbar,[138] and were defeated. Muzaffar Husain then went to Kambay,[139] and after staying two or three days, he went off towards Ahmadabad. Raja Todar Mal turned back from Pattan, and arrived at Ahmadabad.

When the insurgents heard of this, they fell back, and went towards Dulaka. The Raja and Wazir Khan pursued them, and coming up with them at Dulaka, a battle ensued, in which the royal forces were victorious, and the enemy drew off to Junagarh. Raja Todar Mal then departed on his return to Court.

Muzaffar Husain, as soon as he heard of the Raja's departure, came back and besieged Wazir Khan in Ahmadabad; for although Wazir Khan's force was large, it was not trustworthy, and so he was obliged to seek the shelter of the fortress.[140] Mihr 'Ali, the *vakil* of Muzaffar Husain, and the great prop of the

[138] *In Khandesh. This is written Nadarbar and Naryadaba in the MSS. Badauni has "Patlad."*

[139] *But failed to gain possession of the fort.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 181.*

[140] *The rebels had a number of partisans in the city also, who acted in concert with them.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p.* 187.

revolt, brought forward scaling-ladders to attempt an assault, but he was sent to hell[141] by a bullet from the fortress. When he was removed, Muzaffar Husain withdrew, and went towards Sultanpur. So the insurrection came to an end.

ARRIVAL OF THE AMIRS WITH AN IMPERIAL ARMY AT ASIR AND BURHANPUR

It has been mentioned above, that Shahab Khan and other *amirs* were sent with 10,000 horse against Asir and Burhanpur. When Raja 'Ali Khan heard of the approach of this force, he drew in his horns and crept into his fortress. The *amirs* entered the country, and did not stop till they reached Bijanagar.[142] Great dissension arose in the country of Asir, and Raja'Ali Khan was reduced to beg pardon for his offences. He promised the *amirs* to send suitable tribute and some elephants in charge of his people to the Emperor's Court. At this time, Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan separated from the other *amirs*, and went off to Nandurbar and Sultanpur, in consequence of disturbances which had arisen in his *jagirs* of Broach and Baroda, through the proceedings of Muzaffar Husain. The disorders in Asir and Burhanpur which the *amirs* had been sent to settle being ended, by the submission of Raja 'Ali and his payment of tribute, the *amirs* retired to their respective *jagirs*. When Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk, who had gone on an embassy to 'Adil the ruler of the Dekhin, returned, he was sent with the elephants and the tribute to the Imperial Court.

(*The Annual Pilgrimage to Ajmir*)

The Emperor, on his return journey, when he reached the neighbourhood of Ambir,[143] ordered a fort and town to be founded in the village of Mulathan,[144] one of the dependencies of Ambir, on the site of an old city which had been in ruins for some thou-

[141] *This charitable expression, though commonly used for the deaths of infidels, is not reserved exclusively for them.*

[142] *"Bijagarh", about seventy-miles N. W.* of Burhanpur ?

[143] *Four miles N. E. of Jaipur.*

[144] *Or as Badauni (Vol. ii., p. 251) writes the name "Multan".*

sand years. Walls and forts, and gates and gardens were alloted out among the *amirs*, and injunctions were given for the completion of the work, So a building (*'imarat*), which might have taken years for its completion, was finished in twenty days. Orders were then given for *raiyats* and all sorts of mechanics to be collected from all the *parganas* of that province, to populate the fortress (*hisar*). The land of this place was an ancient possession of Rai Lon Karan,[145] and his son, who was young and was being brought up with the princes, was named Manohar, so the town was called Manohar-nagar after that child. This child has now grown up a clever young man, and composes poetry under the *takhallus* (*nom de plume*) of Tausani.

APPEARANCE OF A COMET[146]

At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinion of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindustan, but probably in Khurasan and 'Irak. Shortly afterwards, Shah Ismail, son of Shah Tahmasp Safawi, departed this life, and great trouble arose in Persia.

On arriving at Narnaul, the Emperor paid a visit to Shaikh Nizam Narnauli. . . From thence he proceeded to Dehli, and encamped near the *Hauz-i has*, and paid a visit to the tomb of his father with due ceremony. Then he visited the tombs of the holy men who sleep at Dehli and dispensed large charities. He next halted at the *sarai* of Bawali, and here he was waited upon by Haji Habibu-lla, who had visited Europe, and had brought

145 *"Ruler of Sambhar".—Badauni.*

146 *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 240) places the appearance of this comet in the twenty-second year of the reign. He also records a joke of the time. Shah Mansur, the diwan, used to wear a turban with the end hanging down his back: so he got the name of "The Comet", or "Long-tailed Star." Abu-l Fazl likewise places this comet in the twenty-second year of the reign, or 1577 A.D., and according to Fergusson, the comet passed its perihelion on the 26th October, 1577 (Fergusson's Astronomy, vol ii., p. 234), Abu-l Fazl enters into a learned discussion upon comets in general.—Akbar-nama. vol. iii., p. 192.*

with him fine goods and fabrics for His Majesty's inspection. He started from thence, and passed through the *pargana* of Palam. He passed the night in the house of the *Mukaddam* of the village, and in the morning he directed that the revenue officers, whenever he so rested in the house of a cultivator, should remit the tax and tribute (*baj o khiraj*) of his cultivated land by way of *madad-m'ash*,[147] or help for subsistence.[148]

... When he arrived at the *pargana* of Hansi, he went to pay a visit in the town to Shaikh Jamal Hansawi, and made his offerings and aims. Here a despatch arrived announcing that Muzaffar Husain Mirza, after flying from Gujarat, had been taken prisoner by Raja'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. On the 1st Zi-l ka'da the camp moved for the Panjab, and a *farman* was sent to Raja'Ali Khan, directing him to send Muzaffar Husain Mirza with his (the Raja's) son to Court. (The *maulud-nama* or horoscope of His Majesty).

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded, with Thursday, 13th Muharram, 987[149] H. (12th March, 1579) . . . . (*Hunting etc.*)

The Emperor marched to the town of Bahira, and here intelligence was brought of the approach of Her Highness Maryam Makani from the capital, and Prince Salim was sent to meet her. . . . . After conferring the government of the Panjab on Sa'id Khan, the Emperor started on his return homewards, and on reaching the village of Sultanpur, appertaining to Khizrabad,[150] he ordered boats to be collected, so that the rest of the journey might be performed by water. Muhammad Kasim Khan, the *Mir-bahr*, collected the vessels, and on the 3rd Jumada's sani 986 H., the Emperor embarked. The camp returned by land. He reached Delhi, and the boats were moored opposite the tomb of Khwaja Khizr on the 29th of the month. This being the time

[147] *This is the title of a very common* la-khiraj *tenure.*

[148] *This passage, and a few more lines of no importance, are found in only one copy.*

[149] *The text has "986" but see note, supra.*

[150] *"Sadhaura."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 254.*

of the *'ars*, or anniversary of Khwaja Muinu-d din, he left the boats on the 1st Rajab, and set off. Travelling thirty *kos* a day, he reached Ajmir on the evening of the 6th, which was the day of the festival, and paid his visit to the tomb. Next day he started for Fathpur, and travelling fifty *kos* a day, he arrived there on the evening of the 9th.[151] There he spent much of his time in the building called the *'Ibadat-khana*, in the company of learned and holy men, every one of whom he enriched with gifts of gold and silver. Every Friday he used to pass the night there, making offerings and dispensing charity.

In those days there was a reservoir in the court-yard of the palace at Fathpur, twenty *gaz* long by twenty broad, and three *gaz* deep. This he caused to be filled with red, white and black money (i.e., gold, silver, and copper), the whole of which he gave away to the *amirs*, the poor, the holy, and the learned. The total of this money amounted to twenty *krors* of tankas,[152] and the distribution of it lasted for three years.

In this year Ma'sum Khan, Koka of Mirza Hakim, a young man of courage, who had done some great things, being offended with the Mirza, left him and came to the Emperor, who received him with great kindness. He gave him a *mansab* of 500, and a *jagir* in Bihar, whither he sent him. When Ma'sum went there, Kala Pahar, one of the highest and bravest of the Afghan *amirs*, attacked him; but he was victorious, although he received several wounds. The Emperor bestowed upon him as a recognition a *mansab* of 1,000, with a horse and a robe.

In the month of Shawwal he appointed Mulla Taiyib to the *diwani* of the province of Bihar and Hajipur, Purkhottam to be *bakhchi*, Mulla Majdi *amin*, and the eunuch Shamshir Khan to the charge of the *khalisa* of that province.[153] In the same month

[151] *"The journey was performed on horseback, with as escort of nine persons. The distance was 120 kos in two days.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 214.*

[152] *"Raja Todar Mal collected seventeen krors of dams for this purpose."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 210.*

[153] *Badauni was not pleased with the appointment of these officers. He says they were low base men, and acted as such, serving neither God nor the king—vol. ii., p. 266.*

Maksud Jauhari, who sent to fetch Mirza Muzaffar Husain from Raja'Ali Khan of Asir, arrived at Court with the Mirza and the Raja's tribute, and presented it to His Majesty.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RANA KIKA

His Majesty's mind was always intent upon clearing the land of Hindustan from the troubles and disturbances created by infidels and evil men. He sent Shahbaz Khan *Mir-bakhshi* . . . and several other *amirs*, against Rana Kika, to ravage and occupy his country. Shahbaz Khan accordingly laid the country waste, and pursued the Rana into the mountains and jungles. Upon reaching the fort of Kombalmir, Shahbaz Khan laid siege to it, and captured it in a few days. The Rana made his escape from the fort by night.

Sultan Khwaja, whom His Majesty had appointed *Mir-i haj*, now returned from Mecca, and waited upon him with presents—fabrics and stuffs of Turkey and of Europe, Arab horses, Abyssinian slaves, holy relics and curiosities. These His Majesty accepted with much satisfaction, and he raised Sultan Khwaja to the *mansab* of Sadr (chief judge). As it had been determined to send a leader of the pilgrims every year, Khwaja Muhammad Yahya . . . . was now appointed, and he received four *lacs* of rupees for expenses.

At the end of this year, 987, intelligence arrived of the death of Khan-jahan, the ruler of Bengal. His Majesty was much grieved, and sent a letter of condolence to Ismail Khan, the brother of the deceased. Muzaffar Khan, who had been appointed *diwan*, was promoted to the governor of Bengal, Rizwi Khan to be *bakhshi*, and Hakim Abu-l Fath, and Patar Das to discharge jointly the office of *diwan*.

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, the 24th Muharram, 988 H.[154] (12th March, 1580).

[154] *The author has now got the date correct.*

The rulers of Kashmir had always been well-wishers and servants of the Imperial house. His Majesty now intended, after performing his usual pilgrimage to Ajmir, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Farid Shakar-ganj, and to visit the Panjab. So he sent Mulla Ishki, one of the old servants of the Court, along with Kazi Sadru-d din, to Kashmir. 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Kashmir, entertained them nobly and respectfully, and exhibited his fidelity and devotion. Along with the two envoys he sent his own *vakil*, Muhammad Kasim, to carry his tribute and productions of Kashmir as presents to the Emperor—saffron, musk, paper, shawls, etc. They accordingly brought them to His Majesty, and reported what they had seen and knew of 'Ali Khan's cordiality and good wishes.

Muzaffar Husain Mirza, whom Maksud Jauhari had brought from Raja 'Ali Khan, was pardoned through His Majesty's clemency, and released from prison.

One day, when His Majesty was taking his dinner, it occurred to his mind that probably the eyes of some hungry one had fallen upon the food; how, therefore, could he eat it while the hungry were debarred from it? He therefore gave orders that every day some hungry persons should be fed with some of the food prepared for himself and that afterwards he should be served.

Hakim 'Ali was now sent to Bijagarh along with the envoys of 'Adil Khan Dakhini. The rulers of the Dakhin, every one of them severally, had been accustomed to send their envoys every year with tribute and presents to the Imperial Court. When Khwaja 'Abdulla brought presents and elephants from 'Adil-Khan, the ambassador, and his son Shahi Beg were presented with robes, one hundred Akbar-shahi *ashrafis*, one thousand five hundred and one rupees, and twenty-four *tankas*.

Mir Nizam, husband of the sister of Mirza Shah Rukh, the ruler of Badakhshan, came on a mission to the Imperial Court, bringing Turki horses bred in Badakhshan, fine rubies, several camels, and other gifts.

The Emperor used to keep every year the anniversary of the Prophet's birth. This year he kept it on the 12th Rabi'u-l awwal,

and he gave a great entertainment, at which the *saiyids*, learned men, *shaikhs*, and *amirs* attended. Open table was kept, and no one in the city was debarred from partaking of the refreshments. On this occasion it was represented to him that the Prophet and the four lawful Khalifas[155] used themselves to preach. The 'Abbaside Khalifas also observed this tradition, and themselves used to speak.[156] Sultans such as Sahib Kiran Amir Timur and Mirza Ulugh Beg used to follow the examples thus set them. His Majesty therefore felt it to be his duty to carry into practice on some Friday the custom observed by the Khalifas and Imams. On Friday, 1st Jumada-l awwal, he went into the *Masjid-i jama'* of Fathpur, and mounting the pulpit, he opened his speech with these lines :

> The Lord who gave me empire,
> Gave me a wise heart and a strong arm,
> Guided me in the way of justice and equity
> And drove all but justice from my thoughts.
> His praise surpasses understanding !
> Great is His Power—Great is god ![157]

To these eloquent lines he briefly added some verses of the *Kuran*, expressing thanks for mercies and favours ; then he repeated the *fatiha*, and came down from the pulpit and said his prayers.

Muzaffar Khan, since his appointment to the government of Bengal, had not sent a single article of the productions of the country, or any portion of its revenue, to the Imperial treasury ; but he now sent five *lacs* of rupees in cash, various goods and articles of the country, and elephants and varieties of great value, which was graciously accepted. Muhammad Ma'sum Kabuli also sent thirty-nine elephants as tribute.

On a Friday in this month notice was given for all the poor and needy to assemble on the *chaugan* ground. Sultan Khwaja

[155] *Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman, and 'Ali.*

[156] *"Khutba mi khwandand." This, however, is not the techinal Khutba, but simply a speech.*

[157] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 268) says these verses were the production of Shaikh Faizi, and that the Emperor, "stammering, trembling, and in great confusion, got half through them with the help of others."*

Kalij Khan distributed the alms to them one by one. Nearly a *lac* of persons assembled, and there was such a crowd and crush that eighty weak women and children were trampled to death. When the Emperor was informed of this, he ordered that for the future the people should come a few at a time, and not make a crowd.

Kutbu-d din Atka, a nobleman of high rank, was now appointed tutor to Prince Salim. In celebration of this appointment he gave a grand feast, and the young prince honoured him with his presence. There was a grand assemblage, and Kutbu-d din made many offerings of elephants and Arab horses, jewels and cloths. According to the usual custom, Kutbu-d din Muhammad Atka carried the prince upon his back, and raised his aspiring head to the pinnacle of grandeur. He made presents of money and jewels to the prince, and the clamour of congratulations reached the sky.

'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, ruler of Mawarau-u nahr, had always kept up a friendly intercourse and community of feeling, and used to send his envoys to the Imperial Court. His Majesty now sent Mirza Fulad with Khwaja Khatib, a native of Bukhara, as his envoys to 'Abdu-lla Khan, bearing a letter[158] full of kind words, and a great variety of presents. (*A legal discussion. The usual journey to Ajmir*). On the 21st Shawwal he returned to Fathpur. Mihtar Sa'adat, whose title is Peshrau Khan, and who had been sent on an embassy to Nizamu-l Mulk Dakhini, now returned with the Dakhini envoys, who brought with them elephants and other tribute.

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Corresponding to 988 H.[159]

An Imperial order was made abolishing the *tamgha* (tolls) and the *zakat*[160] (customs) throughout the empire, *Farmans*

[158] *See Inshæ Abu-l Fazl, Dafter IV.*

[159] *See Table published on pp. 68-69, vol. I of this book.*

[160] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 276) substitutes "jizya" for "zakat" and says that the produce of these taxes amounted to several krors (or dams?). Abu-l Fazl calls them "baj (misprinted taj) and tamgha".—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 258.*

enforcing this abolition was issued. These taxes amounted to as much as the whole revenue of Iran, and it is clear that no king would have remitted them without divine guidance.[161] In this year Muhammad Ma'sum Khan, son of Mu'inu-d din Ahmad Khan Farankhudi, who held the government of Jaunpur, came to Court, and was allowed to return to that place. Mulla Muhammad Yazdi was appointed chief *Kazi* of Jaunpur. The government of Dehli was given to Muhibb 'Ali Khan, son of Mir Khalifa.

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL

Muzaffar Khan, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amirs* of their *jagirs,* he demanded the *dagh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

Baba Khan Kakshal, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jagir* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dagh,* and received no attention. The *pargana* of Jalesar, which was the *jagir* of Khaldi Khan, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwah* to the *jagir* of Shah Jamalu-d din Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khaldi Khan, and to recover this Muzaffar Khan put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

At this time a *farman* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khan to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mirza Muhammad Hakim named Roshan Beg, who had left Kabul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Beg was among the Kakshals, and Muzaffar Beg issued an order for his execution. He also spoke some harsh words about Baba Khan Kakshal. The soldiers who were present, and especially Baba Khan and the Kakshals, trembled together, and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads,

[161] "*taufik na-yafta*".

put on their high caps,[162] and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khan in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffar Khan collected boats, and sent Hakim Abu-l Fath and Patar Das,[163] with an army against them on the banks of the river.

When the disaffection of the Kakshals was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farman* to Muzaffar Khan, in which he said that the Kakshals had long been servants of the throne, and that it was not right to hurt them; they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jagirs* was to be settled. The *farman* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khan was in face of the insurgents.

Upon the arrival of the *farman*, Baba Khan and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khan, asking him to send Rizwi Khan and Patar Das to arrange terms with them, and to set their minds at ease. He accordingly sent Rizwi Khan, Mir Abu Ishak, son of Mir Rafi'u-d din and Rai Patar Das. Baba Khan put all three of them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warfare.

Coincident with this, it so happened that Mulla Taiyib, Purkhottam *Bakhshi*, and the revenue officials of Bihar, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jagirs* of Muhammad Ma'sum Kabuli, 'Arab Bahadur, and all the *amirs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Ma'sum Kabuli, who after this insurrection obtained the cognomen of 'Asi, having leagued with 'Arab Bahadur and Sufaid Badakhshi, resolved to rebel, and kill Mulla Taiyid and Rai Purkhottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purkhottam rallied some loyal subjects, and crossed the river Jausa with the intention of attacking the rebels. But

[162] *takihae Mughuli, "Mughal caps."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 280.*

[163] *Badauni (vol. ii. p. 281) observes that Abu-l Fath was fonder of feasts than of war, and Patar Das was a mere Hindu clerk, so that no vigorous action could be expected.*

the rebel 'Arab Bahadur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

Upon intelligence of 'Asi Ma'sum's rebellion reaching Baba Khan Kakshal, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kakshals confronted Muzaffar Khan, 'Asi marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhi. Muzaffar Khan then sent Khwaja Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khwafi with a detachment and some guns to the passes of Garhi, to arrest the progress of 'Asi Ma'sum. But the latter had a strong force; he broke through Garhi, and attacked the Khwaja and defeated him. He then formed a junction with the Kakshals, and the revolt gathered strength.

The Kakshals then crossed the riyer, and advanced against Muzaffar Khan. Wazir Jamil,[164] one of the old *amirs* of the State, along with Jan Muhammad Bihbudi, and some others, deserted Muzaffar Khan, and joined the insurgents. Muzaffar Khan then took shelter in the fort of Tanda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tanda. They took Hakim Abu-l Fath, Khwaja Shamsu-d din and others prisoners, and began to pillage. Hakim Abu-l Fath with the Khwaja and Rai Patar Das effected their escape by artifice, and fled on foot. By the help of the *zamindars*, they managed to reach Hajipur. The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khan out of his house upon a solemn assurance (of safety), and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihar fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor some time before this had taken Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khan.[165] The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Raja Todar Mal . . . and other *amirs* to repress it. *Farmans*

[164] *"Wazir Khan Jamil Beg."—Badauni.*
[165] *To be kept in custody.—Akbar-nama.*

were sent to Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi, governor of Jaunpur, and Samanji Khan and the *jagirdars* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

While the Imperial army was on the march, Shaham Khan Jalair fought with Saiyid Badakhshi and killed him. When the army reached Jaunpur, Muhammad Ma'sum joined Todar Mal with 3000 horsemen fully armed, and marched on with him. But Muhammad Ma'sum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his army had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Raja Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporized with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

When the Imperial army reached Mongir, 'Asi Kabuli and the Kakshals, and Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war-boats and artillery, in battle order, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Raja Todar Mal had no confidence in the (cohesion of the) adventures composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he on one occasion sent Zainu-d din Kambu by *dak-chauki* with a *lac* of rupees for the expenditure of the army. Some days after, he sent the same amount by the hands of Darya Khan *ab-dar*, and so on by different persons. At different times he sent a great deal of money.

At this time Humayun Farmuli and Tarkhan Diwana deserted the Imperial army and joined the insurgents. For four months the loyal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamindars* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Baba Khan Kakshal fell sick at Tanda and died. Jabbari, son of Mainun Khan Kakshal, who was the main prop of the rabble, being informed of the sinking condition of Baba

Khan, wanted to go to Tanda. 'Asi (Ma'sum), not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihar. 'Arab Bahadur made a rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure. Bihar Khan Khassa-khail[166] went into the fort of Patna, and held out. Raja Todar Mal and his supporters sent Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi with a detachment to the relief of Patna. On hearing of his approach, 'Arab Bahadur raised the siege, and went off towards Gajpati, one of the chief *zamindars* of that country.

The Raja and Sadik Khan, and . . . and the other *amirs* marched to Bihar after 'Asi Ma'sum, who sought an opportunity to make a night attack upon Sadik Khan's camp. But Sadik Khan was a wary commander, and on that night he and his men were prepared. Jan Beg and Ulugh Khan Habshi were in command of his advanced force, and the enemy attacking them unwares, Jan Beg was killed and Ulugh Khan fell back. Sadik Khan had to resist a sharp attack, but the Emperor's good fortune aided him, and he defeated Ma'sum, who went off to Bengal in sorry plight. Now, Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops.

Among the strange occurrences of the time was this : A letter was sent by the hands of Hasan *tawachi-bashi* to Shuja'at Khan, ruler of Malwa, summoning him to Court. Accordingly, he and his son Kiyam Khan set off from Sarangpur to attend upon His Majesty. His attendants were seized with the desire to rebel, so they killed both him and his son, and then dispersed, each one taking his own way. When the Emperor heard this, he sent Sharif Khan Atka to be governor of Malwa, and called the young surviving children of Shuja'at Khan to Court.

In consequence of the state of affairs in Bengal, 'Azam Khan who had been living for some time in retirement at Agra, was again received into favour, and he was sent with 5,000 horse to assume the government of Bihar.[167] For greater security,

166 *"Commonly known as Saiyid 'Arif."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 283.*

167 *The MSS. agree in this, but Badauni (vol. ii., p. 285) says "Bengal." Abu-l Fazl seems more accurate in saying he was appointed to the command in the Eastern Provinces.—Akbar-nama vol. iii., p. 275.*

Shahbaz Khan Kambu, who was engaged against Rana Kika, and had nearly driven the Rana from the country, was summoned and sent with an army to the support of the forces in Bengal. When Shahbaz Khan came near to Hajipur, where 'Arab Bahadur had taken refuge with Raja Gajpati, he marched to attack him. For one month he carried on operations against him, clearing away the jungle, until at length he drove off 'Arab Bahadur and made the Raja succumb.

(*The Emperor pays a visit to Sharif Khan Atka. Hakimu-l Mulk Gilani appointed. "Leader of the Pilgrimage."*)

A despatch now arrived from Raja Todar Mal, stating that he had kept Muhammad Ma'sum Farankhudi along with him by concilitary treatment and all kinds of expedients. That Khwaja Mansur (the *diwan*) had written sharp letters to him, claiming a good deal of money due from him. He (the *diwan*) had also written letters to Tarsun Muhammad Khan, one of the great *amirs* and commander of an army, holding out threats to him, at a time when encouragement was necessary. The sharp practice of the *diwan* having been repeatedly mentioned to His Majesty, he removed him from office, and placed him in charge of Shah Kuli Khan. An order was promulgated appointing Wazir Khan to be *diwan* in chief instead of him, and Kazi 'Ali, son of Kutbu-d din Baghdadi, was to assist him in deciding important questions.

A great natural curiosity was brought to the notice of the Emperor at this time. It was a man born without ears or any orifice of the ears, who yet heard all that was spoken, just like people with ears. His Majesty was greatly interested in the man, and settled a pension upon him.

(*Prince Daniyal makes the usual pilgrimage to Ajmir instead of the Emperor*).

Raja Todar Mal, Tarsun Muhammad Khan, and the other *amirs* took up their quarters in Hajipur during the rainy season, and Ma'sum Farankhudi, with their permission, went to Jaunpur, which was his *jagir*. There he began to show signs of disaffection. His Majesty therefore sent Peshrau Khan, *darogha* of the *farash-khana*, to set him at ease; he also gave him the country of Oudh

instead of Jaunpur, and bestowed the latter upon Tarsun Khan. Ma'sum spoke dutiful words to Peshrau Khan, and did not show his disaffection; but as Oudh was near, he went there.

Niyabat Khan, son of Hashim Khan Naishapuri, who had grown up in the nurture of the Imperial Court, broke out in rebellion in his *jagir* of Jausa and Payag (Allahabad), and attacked the fort of Karra, which was the *jagir* of Isma'il Kuli Khan. Illyas Khan, who was *Shikkdar* of that place for Isma'il Kuli, fought with him and was killed. He then invested the fort of Garha, and began to pillage. This being reported to His Majesty, he sent Isma'il Kuli Khan, . . and several other *amirs* to repress him. He also sent Raja Birbal and Shah Kuli Khan Mahram to excite the hopes of Ma'sum Khan Farankhudi and bring him to Court.

When Wazir Khan had departed, Khwaja Mansur was released from confinement, and again appointed to the office of *diwan*.

As soon as Niyabat heard of the approach of the royal army he raised the siege of Karra, and went towards Kantal, one of the dependencies of Patna. The *amirs* followed him, crossed over the river, and came up with him. Niyabat Khan attacked them, and a hard fight ensued, but at last he was defeated and went off to Ma'sum Khan.

At this time, also, 'Arab Bahadur fled before Shahbaz Khan, and took refuge with Ma'sum.[168] Shahbaz Khan, in pursuit of him, went to Jaunpur, and from thence to Oudh against Ma'sum. But Ma'sum advanced to meet him, defeated him, and put him to flight. In one day Shahbaz Khan travelled forty *kos* to Jaunpur. Tarsun Muhammad Khan, who commanded the right wing of Shahbaz Khan's force, had been hidden by the jungle, and when Masum's army was disordered, this force came up and defeated it. When Shahbaz Khan was informed of this he returned immediately, joined his right wing, and rallying his forces, pursued the enemy. Ma'sum fought again in the vicinity of the

[168] *Ma'sum Khan had an immense stock of the materials of war, "and there were thirty or forty banners, tughs and kettle-drums in his army."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 290.*

city of Oudh, and was again defeated. His mother, and sisters, wives and children, property and troops were taken. He himself fled to the Siwalik hills. This happened in the month of Zi-l hijja, in the year 988[169] H.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 15th Safar, 989.[170]

In the beginning of this year intelligence arrived that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by 'Asi Ma'sum Kabuli and Ma'sum Farankhudi, and urged on by his maternal uncle Faridun, had set out from Kabul with the object of conquering Hindustan. He sent his servant Shadman over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Man Singh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das, attacked him and killed him.[171] On hearing of this, the Mirza crossed the river, and encamped in the *pargana* of Saiyidpur.

The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Panjab. Prince Daniyal remained at Fathpur, and Sultan Khwaja and Shaikh Ibrahim were there left in charge of affairs. Upon the Emperor's reaching the *sarai* of Bad, fifteen *kos* from Fathpur, he received intelligence of the victory of Shahbaz Khan over Ma'sum Farankhudi. Deeming this an auspicious omen, he continued his march.

When Kunwar Man Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mirza Muhammad Hakim : one to Hakimu-l Mulk, one to Khawaja Shah Mansur, and one to Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr;* all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Man Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed.

169 *Should be 989.*

170 *This should be 990 (11th March, 1582).*

171 *A force sent in advance of this had been defeated by Mirza Yusuf Khan, governor of the Panjab.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii. p. 310.*

After the Emperor marched from Dehli, Mirza Muhammad Hakim advanced to Lahore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim Khan. Kunwar Man Singh, Sa'id Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Panipath, Malik Sani Kabuli, *diwan* of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who had the title of Wazir Khan, deserted the Mirza, and came to the Imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur, and made him the channel for offering his services to the Emperor. When Khwaja Shah Mansur announced his arrival, the Emperor's suspicions were aroused, and he thought that the *diwan's* arriving at the time when his master was invading Hindustan must have some policy in it. He was already suspicious of Mansur, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansur, and showed him the Mirza's letters. Mansur asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

The Emperor proceeded to Shahabad, and Malik 'Ali brought him a letter to the following effect: "When my scouts were coming from the ford of Ludiana, which is under my charge, and reached the *sarai* of Sirhind, they found a footman with swollen feet. This footman said to them, 'I belong to Sharaf Beg, the servant of Khawaja Shah Mansur. He is the Khwaja's *shikkdar* in his *jagir* of Firozpur, thirty *kos* from Lahore. These letters are to be delivered to the Khwaja; as my feet are in a bad state, do you convey the letters quickly to him.' These letters my men have brought to me." When the secretary opened them, one was a letter from Sharaf Beg to Khwaja Mansur, about the affairs of Firozpur, and the other was a letter from one person to another person, and of the following purport: "I met Faridun Khan, and he carried me to wait upon Muhammad Hakim Badshah. Although he had sent his revenue collectors into all the *parganas* of this quarter, he has not sent any to ours, but has held us exempt." On hearing and considering these letters it appeared to His Majesty that Sharaf Beg had written one of them to Khwaja Mansur, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mirza Muhammad Hakim's *diwan*, Malik Sani, to Khwaja Mansur. Many of the

amirs and officers of State were on bad terms with the Khwaja, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

Three days afterwards, intelligence came in that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Panjab, had passed the river of Lahore, and gone off to Kabul. The Emperor advanced from Sirhind to Kalanor,[172] and from thence to New Rohtas. There, he received good news, and hunting as he went along, he reached the Indus. In the month of Rabi'u-s sani, he ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sind-sagar, and he called it Atak Banaras.[173] Boats were scarce, so he ordered the *amirs* and soldiers to search for and produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the various *amirs*. Kunwar Man Singh, with Shaikh Jamal Bakhtiyar and Madhu Singh his brother . . . and others were sent over the river towards Parshor (Peshawar). When they took possession of that city, the Emperor sent Prince Murad along with Kalij Khan, Rai Singh, Mirza Yusuf, and other *amirs* to effect the conquest of Kabul.

At this time Khwaja Abu-l Fazl, and . . came as envoys from Mirza Muhammad Hakim, to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Haji Habibu-lla along with them to Kabul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court. Prince Murad passed through the Khaibar Pass, and on the 15th Jumada-s sani, the Emperor crossed over the river Sind-sagar (Indus), and there encamped.

Here he sent the least of his servants, Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the author of this work, to proceed rapidly in advance of Prince Murad, and open communications with the *amirs* who had gone

[172] *According to Abu-l Fazl, he paid a visit to Nagarkot before reaching Kalanor.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 326.*

[173] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 293) says this was "in contradistinction to Katak Banaras," at the other extremity of the empire.*

on first, and to ascertain whether they could get to Kabul without the Emperor, or if they needed his presence; by what road he ought to proceed; and whether he should come with all his army or travel express (*jarida*). In one night and day I reached Jalalabad, a distance of seventy-five *kos*, and delivered my message to the Prince. He was determined upon proceeding to Kabul, and thought it advisable to send me back speedily to the Emperor. He also sent along with me Haji Habibu-lla, who had come from Kabul to Jalalabad, and I was to report that Mirza Muhammad Hakim was sincerely repentant of the past, that he had taken oaths, and that he was willing to send his sister, but that Khwaja Husain, her husband, had carried her off to Badakhshan. When I and Haji Habibu-lla joined His Majesty, he on the following day marched to Pershor (Peshawar). There he left Prince Salim in camp with Raja Bhagwan Das, Sa'id Khan (etc), and went on with speed travelling about twenty *kos* a day. When Prince Murad came to within seven *kos* of Kabul, Mirza Muhammad Hakim issued forth to the village of Khurd-kabul, and attacked him; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kabul.

On the night before this action Faridun, the uncle of Mirza Hakim, attacked the rear of the Prince's army, killed a good many men, and carried off considerable spoil. This day the Emperor advanced and encamped at Surkhab, fifteen *kos* from the army of the Prince. When the rear of the Prince's army was attacked and plundered, it so happened that Haji Muhammad Ahadi, who had gone on in advance as messenger (*dak-chauki*) to the Prince, arrived upon the spot, and beheld the rout. He turned back and reported the disaster, which annoyed the Emperor. But notwithstanding this news, next day the Emperor went on a stage, and then received accounts of the victory that had been gained, and for which he offered up his thanksgiving.

On Friday, 10th Rajab, he entered Kabul, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens. Here he was informed that Mirza Muhammad Hakim intended to abandon his country, and take refuge with the Uzbeks. Deeming this a disgrace and shame, he sent Latif Khwaja to Mirza Muhammad

Hakim, who was at Ghorband, to tell him that his offences were forgiven. The Mirza, having in the presence of Latif Khwaja made a promise and a vow of fideity, executed an engagement, and sent it by 'Ali Muhammad Asp along with Latif Khwaja to the Emperor.

His Majesty then turned homewards to Hindustan, after conferring Kabul upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Leaving the army, he went on quickly to Jalalabad, where there was a large encampment. Prince Salim, and the nobles who were with him, hastened forth to meet His Majesty, and to congratulate him on his victory. Khwajagi Muhammad Husain, the brother of Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*, who was one of Mirza Muhammad Hakim's nobles, came to proffer his services to the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his friends.

From Jalalabad he sent a detachment to attack the hills of the Kator infields. Travelling by regular stages, he reached the banks of the Sind-sagar (Indus).[174] Muhammad Kasim Khan, who had been left behind to make a bridge, had constructed one of boats. The journey to Kabul had been performed in one month. In one day he (and his escort) crossed the river and went on to Lahore, where he arrived on the last day of Ramazan. He again entrusted the government of the Panjab to Sa'id Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Kunwar Man Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fathpur. At Panipat Shahbaz Khan came to wait upon him. On the 25th Shawwal he arrived at Dehli. Prince Daniyal and the *amirs* who had remained at Fathpur, and Her Highness Maryam Makani came forth to meet him, and on the 5th Zi-l ka'da he arrived there.

While the Emperor was engaged in the Kabul campaign, Bahadur 'Ali, son of Saiyid Badakhshi entered the country of Tirhut, and gave himself the title of Bahadur Shah;[175] but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khan-i 'azam. Ma'sum Khan Farankhudi, being in great distress and anxiety

[174] *"On the 12th Sha'ban."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 295.*

[175] *According to Badauni (vol. ii., p. 298), he caused the khutba to be read and coins to be struck in his name.*

in the Siwalik hills, begged forgiveness for his offences through Khan-i 'azam ; and in consequence of the Khan's intercession he was pardoned. Then he waited upon Khan-i 'azam in humble guise, and was afterwards admitted to an interview with the Emperor at Fathpur.[176]

When the Emperor was waited upon at Kabul by the confidential servants of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, he made inquiry into the case of Khwaja Shah Mansur, and it appeared that Karmu-lla, brother of Shahbaz, had colluded with others to concoct letters, and that he had forged the last letter on the evidence of which Khwaja Mansur was executed. After this was discovered, the Emperor often regretted the execution of Khwaja. He now remained for some time at Fathpur, administering justice, dispensing charity, and arranging public business.

On the 19th Muharram, 990 H., Khan-i 'azam, governor of Hajipur and Patna, came to wait upon the Emperor, and to give an account of the affairs of Bengal. After staying several days, he was sent back to Bengal and several nobles and soldiers who had been to Kabul was sent with him.

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 27th Safar, 991 (11th March, 1583 A.D.)

(*A festival of eighteen days' duration at the Nau-roz*)

Shaham Khan Jalair from Bengal, and Raja Baagwan Das from Lahore, came to wait upon upon his Majesty. It has been mentioned in a previous page how Khan-i'azam came with a number of *jagirdars* from Bengal to wait upon the Emperor, leaving the

[176] *He was soon afterwards murdered, as he was returning home from the palace. Niyabat was also "pardoned for the sake of his uncle Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, ruler of Malwa; but he was sent to the fort of Rantambhor, and confined. There he was guilty of things which cannot be mentioned, and stirred up a great mutiny among the prisoners : so in 998 he was condemned and executed."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 299.*

suba empty. Evil-minded men took advantage of their absence, and coming out of every corner began to excite disturbances. A servant of Ma'sum Kabuli, by name Khabita, in concert with Tarkhan Diwana and Surkh Badakhshi, raised commotions in Bihar. Muhammad Sadik Khan, with Muhibb 'Ali Khan, defeated him and killed him.

(*Return of Gulbadan Begam and Salima Sultan Begam from Mecca. Prince Salim sent to Ajmir to meet them, and to visit the shrine of Mu'inu-d din.*)

Muhammad Sadik Khan came from Bihar, and was well received, but he was soon sent to assist Khan-i'azam in suppressing the revolt of 'Asi Kabuli. Shah Kuli Khan and other *amirs* who had been on the Kabul campaign were sent with him. About this time Mir Abu Turab and 'Itimad Khan, who had visited the holy temple together, came to Court, and had an interview with His Majesty. Abu Turab had brought a stone upon which there was said to be an impression of the Prophet's foot. His Majesty went out four *kos* to receive this stone with every mark of honour. An order was issued that all the *amirs* in turn should carry it on their backs a few steps. So each one carried it a little way, and brought it into the city. (*Weighing of Prince Salim against gold and silver*). The traitor, Nur Muhammad by name, was brought a prisoner from Tirhut, and suffered punishment in the market.[177]

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Agreeing with 991 H.[178] (*Festival of the new year*).
The news from Bengal was, that Khan-i'azam had occupied Tanda, that Khaldi Khan, Jabbar Burdi, and Mirza Beg Kakshal had separated from 'Asi Kabuli, and had come to Khan-i'azam, and that 'Asi had sought refuge with certain *zamindars*. All the

[177] *He was a Tarkhan, and had been a rebel in Bengal. Having attacked a caravan of salt-merchants, they made a breastwork of their bags, and beat him off. He was afterwards taken near Gaya.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 388.*

[178] *Should be 992 (1584 A.D.)*

parts of Bengal that were in the possession of the rebels now came again under the authority of the Imperial officers.

As 'Itimad Khan had held the government of Gujarat for several years, he was better acquainted with the prosperous management of the country than others could be, and if the government were confirmed to him it might be the means of exciting the emulation of rulers in other countries. For this reason he was appointed governor of Gujarat. Mir Abu Turab was appointed *amin*, Khwaja Abu-l Kasim, brother of Mulla 'Abdu-l Kadir was appointed *diwan*, and the humble servant Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the author of this work, was appointed *bakshi*. Muhammad Husain Shaikh and . . . were made *jagirdars* of Gujarat.

Amir Fathu-lla, one of the *saiyids* of Shiraz, a very wise and learned man, had gone from Shiraz to 'Adil Khan in the Dakhin, and had there held high office. On the 22nd Rabi'u-s sani he came to visit the Emperor at Fathpur. Khan-khanan and Hakim Abu-l Fath were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him in with due honour. He was appointed to the exalted office of *Sadr*.

The suppression and dispersion of the rebels in Bengal was reported to the Emperor. It was known that 'Asi Kabuli was in the country of 'Aisi, and Khan-i 'azam was desirous of returning home. For these reasons the Emperor ordered Shahbaz Khan to proceed to Bengal, to allot the whole of that *sarkar* in *jagirs* to the soldiers, and to do his best to exterminate 'Asi Kabuli. On the 17th Jumada-s sani, he started to assume his duties.

In this year, an order was given for the translation into Persian of the *Maha-bharat*, which is the chief book of history of the Brahmans. The translation was completed, and received the name of *Razm-nama* (Book of War).

Information was now brought that Khan-i'azam had sent Shaikh Farid to make peace with Katlu Afghan (in Orissa). When the Shaikh reached his dwelling, and had an interview with him, Katlu was very humble. Bahadur Gauriya, one of the *zamindars* of Bengal, and a high officer in the army of Katlu,

came to see the Shaikh, who then travelled on under the eyes of the *zamindars* and the servants of Katlu. Bahadur, in a hostile manner, blocked up the road by which the Shaikh was returning, and attacked him. Many of his men were killed, but the Shaikh escaped without injury.

Burhanu-l Mulk, brother of Murtaza Nizamu-l Mulk, ruler of the Dakhin, fled from his brother to Kutbu-d din Khan,[179] and by command he came from thence to wait upon the Emperor in the month of Rajab. But before this, a person calling himself Burhanu-l Mulk had waited upon the Emperor, and had obtained a *jagir*. Now that the real man had come, and the imposture was displayed, the imposter fled and hid himself; but he was discovered after the lapse of a week among some *jogis*, and was cast into prison.

An order was given to 'Itimad Khan to take away the country of Sirohi from Sarman Deori, and to give it to Jagmal his brother, who was an adherent of the Imperial throne: 1,000 *mohurs* (*muhrs*) was sent in charge of the writer of this work towards payment of the expenses. When 'Itimad Khan arrived at Jalor, the author, Muhammad Ma'sum Bakhari, Kambar Beg Ishang Aka, Zainu-d din Kambu, and Pahlawan 'Ali Sistani, who was appointed *kotwal* of Ahmadabad, joined 'Itimad Khan. Muhammad Husain Shaikh and several *jagirdars* of Gujarat remained behind. After 'Itimad Khan arrived at Jalor, he proceeded to Sirohi, and having removed Sarman Deori, he installed Jagmal, whom he left there with Aghzan Khan, Mahmud Jalori, Bijad Deora, Rai Singh, son of Chandar Sen, son of Rai Mal Deo. Then he proceeded towards Ahmadabad, and on approaching the city, Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan came out and posted himself in 'Usmanpur, one of the suburbs. On the 12th Sha'ban, 'Itimad Khan went into the city. Two days afterwards it was discovered that 'Abid Badakhsi . . . . and a large party of the servants of Shahabu-d din Khan had left him, and gone off to Kathiwar, to invite Muzaffar Gujarati,[180] who was there living in the retirement

[179] *"In Malwa".—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 324.*

[180] *"Who had fled from the Imperial Court, and had sought refuge with his mother's relations"—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 327. Abu-l Fazl says*

to which he had been driven by the Imperial arms; their object being to promote a revolt.

'Itimad Khan thought it desirable to have a conference with Shahabu-d din upon the subject; so he sent me, the author of this work, to him. When I saw him, he told me that this band of conspirators had a design against his life, and that they had for a long time been preparing this plot. Now that they had torn the veil from their designs, they would receive no encouragement or help from him. When I reported the state of the case to 'Itimad Khan, he thought it expedient to conciliate the conspirators; so he sent me and two other persons to appease them. But they rejected our overtures, and continued their journey. Shahabu-d din removed and went to Kari, twenty *kos* from Ahmadabad. We now sent several letters to Shahabu-d din, urging him to delay his departure for a few days; but making no stay, he went on his way.[181]

On the 27th Sha'ban, the intelligence arrived that the rebels had come to Dulaka,[182] bringing with them Muzaffar and some Kathiwar people.

Kambar Beg Ishang Aka now came in from Shahabu-d din, reporting that he had promised to stay at Kari. 'Itimad Khan, Mir Abu Turab, and I, therefore went forth to see Shahabu-d din, to mollify him and bring him back with us. Towards the close of day, 'Itimad Khan set off for Kari. It had been urged upon him that it was not right for the ruler of a city to leave it when the enemy was at a distance of anly twelve *kos*. But it was of no avail. He left his own son with Amir Ma'sum Bakhari and . . . and my son, and started. When he and I reached Kari, we talked with Shahabu-d din, and we reconciled him, upon our promise that the *parganas* which he had for a long time held in *jagir* should be relinquished to him, and that he should be paid

he was really an obscure individual named Tannu, who took the name of Muzaffar, and called himself son of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat.—Akbar-nama vol. iii., p. 404. According to Blockmann he was called "Nathu", which means "dwarf".—Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 38.

[181] *The author's words are explicit, though they seem to be inconsistent with what follows.*

[182] *"Twelve kos from Ahmadabad".—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 327.*

a subsidy of two *lacs* of rupees. In fact, all he asked was conceded. Towards close of day, 'Itimad Khan and he set out from Kari, to return to Ahmadabad. On the same day that 'Itimad Khan went to Kari, Muzaffar Gujarati came to Ahmadabad. The men of the city gave him (access to) the fort, and as part of the wall was broken down, he made his way in immediately.

At midnight, when ('Itimad Khan and) Shahabu-d din were ten *kos* from Ahmadabad, they were met by Mir Ma'sum Bakhari and Zainu-d din Kambu, who had come out of the city and brought the news. They alighted, and after consultation decided that as the enemy had gained only one day, he had had no time to strengthen himself, and that we must get into the city as he had done. So we went on to the city, and in the morning arrived at 'Usmanpur, which is on the side of the river near the city. Muzaffar Gujarati came forth, and drew up his forces on the sandy bank of the river. Shahabu-d din was quite helpless, because his men were not trustworthy, and many of them ran off. I did all I could with a few men, but without effect. My son, who had been left in the city in charge of the fort, was plundered of everything. Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and 'Itimad Khan took to flight, and went to Nahrwala, better known as Pattan, forty-five *kos* from Ahmadabad. I, the author, wrote a report of the occurrences to the Emperor.

Three days afterwards Muhammad Husain Shaikh . . . . and other *jagirdars* of Gujarat came to Pattan, and having set the fort in order, prepared to hold out. Muzaffar Gujarati gave away *jagirs* and titles to the leading rebels, and busied himself in collecting forces. Sher Khan Fuladi had been governor of Pattan for many years, but had (since) lived for some years in adversity in the coutry of Surath. He joined Muzaffar Gujarati, who sent him with four thousand horse towards Pattan. When Sher Khan arrived at Kari, he sent forward his men to the town of Jutana, twenty *kos* from Pattan.[183] I attacked them and defeated them, and left Mir Muhibbu-lla . . . . and a detachment of soldiers at that place. Zainu-d din Kambu was sent to Kutbu-d din, gover-

[183] *South of Pattan, and about twelve miles north of Kari.*

nor of Broach and Baroda, desiring him to advance from that side against Ahmadabad, so that the enemy might be attacked on two sides and overpowered. Zainu-d din went to Kutbu-d din, and brought him to Baroda. When Muzaffar was informed of his arrival there, he led a large force to attack him, and Kutbu-d din, having fought in an unsoldier-like way, was defeated, and had to take refuge in the fort of Baroda. Many of his men and officers joined Muzaffar.

Sher Khan Fuladi now advanced as far as the town of Masana,[184] fifteen *kos* from Pattan, and great consternation fell upon the garrison, so much so that they were on the point of abandoning Pattan, and going off to Jalor. I resolved at all hazard to fight, and went to encounter Sher Khan. Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and 'Itimad Khan stopped in Pattan,[185] the other *amirs* joined me. When we reached Masana, we found that Sher Khan had drawn up his forces, and he advanced to attack us with five thousand horse; while we did not exceed two thousand. Sher Khan was defeated, and went off to Ahmadabad. Many of his men were killed, and a large booty fell into our hands. I strenously urged that we should advance against Ahmadabad,[186] but the *amirs* who were with me would not agree.

When we reached Kari, we remained there, awaiting the arrival of the soldiers who had been sent to Pattan with the spoils of our victory. We waited twelve days, and during that time several persons were sent to Pattan to collect men. We now heard that Muzaffar Gujarati had bombarded the fort of Baroda, and that Kutbu-d din, having received a promise (of safe conduct), had sent Zainu-d din Kambu out (to treat). Muzaffar, regardless of his pledge, put Jainu-d din to death. Kutbu-d din, although the perfidy and vow-breaking of Muzaffar were mani-

[184] *"Mysana" in the maps. About twenty miles north of Kari.*

[185] *These two nobles "had determined to fly towards Jalor, but through the efforts of Nizamu-d din Ahmad they remained in Pattan."—Badauni, Vol. ii., p. 339.*

[186] *"This was the proper course under the circumstances, for intelligence of Kutbu-d din Muhammad's affair had not as yet been received." —Badauni, vol. ii., p. 330.*

fest, was so demented, so blinded by fate, that he trusted to the promise of that promise breaker, and went out to him.[187] Then, at the instigation of Tarwari, *Zamindar* of Pipla, he was put to death. Upon hearing of this, I, and the men who were with me at Kari, returned to Pattan.

From Baroda Muzaffar went to Broach, and the officers of Kutbu-d din surrendered the fortress. He obtained there fourteen *lacs* of rupees which were in the royal treasury at Kambay, and had been conveyed to Broach by Khwaja 'Imadu-d din Husain. And he also got possession of all the property and treasures of Kutbu-d din, which exceeded ten *krors*. Collecting the soldiers and Rajputs from all parts near him, he raised his force to nearly thirty thousand men.

When these occurrences were brought to the knowledge of the Emperor, he sent Mirza Khan, son of Bairam Khan, along with the *jagirdars* of Ajmir, such as Payinda Muhammad Khan Mughal . . . and others too numerous to mention, by way of Jalor and Pattan; and he also sent Kalij Khan, who was the *jagirdar* of Surat, with . . *jagirdars* of Malwa, by the way of Malwa. This latter force had arrived at Sultanpur and Nandurbar[188] while Muzaffar was engaged at Broach, but dread of Muzaffar prevented them from advancing a step further. I, the author, every day wrote letters from Pattan to Mirza Khan, urging his speedy approach. When he arrived with his force at Sirohi, I went forth to meet him, and brought him on with all speed. He remained one day in Pattan, and then advanced.

When Mirza Khan's arrival became known to Muzaffar Gujarati, he left Broach, and returned to Ahmadabad, leaving the fort of Broach in charge of Nasir, his brother's son, and Charkas Rumi, one of the Imperial servants who had deserted to Muzaffar. Mirza Khan and his army encamped at Sarkaj, three *kos* from Ahmadabad. Muzaffar pitched his camp opposite the Imperial

[187] *He was at first received with great kindness and honour.—Badauni vol. ii., p. 331.*

[188] *Sultanpur lies about twenty miles north of the Tapti; Nandurbar nearly the same distance south of it.*

army, two *kos* distant, near the tomb of Shah Bhikan (God rest his soul!)

On the day the two armies were thus brought near to each other and afterwards some fighting went on, to the advantage of the Imperial arms, until Friday, 16th Muharram, 991, when Muzaffar marshalled his forces and attacked us. Mirza Khan, on his side, had made his dispositions. I, the author, and . . . were directed to keep the town of Sarkaj on our right, and to fall upon the rear of the enemy. The two armies met, and the battle began. Saiyid Hashim and Khizr Aka, *vakil* of Mirza Khan, were slain, and many men fell. While Muzaffar was engaged with Mirza Khan, I brought round my men, and fell upon his rear. Rai Durga, also, of the left wing, under the orders of Mirza Khan, followed to support me. Muzaffar was put to flight, and great numbers of his men were slain.[189] Next morning Mirza Khan entered the city, and issued a proclamation of amnesty, so that every one felt reassured. Muzaffar fled to Ma'murabad and the banks of the Mahindari river. From thence he went to Kambay. Many of the fugitives rejoined him there, so that his force again rose to nearly ten[190] thousand men[191]

Three days after the victory, Kalij Khan arrived at Ahmadabad with the army of Malwa. Mirza Khan and all the *amirs* then marched towards Kambay. On their arriving at ten *kos* from the place, Muzaffar went off towards Baroda. When Mirza Khan reached the village of Basad, near Patlad, on the bank of the Mahindari, [192] he sent Kalij Khan and . . on in advance to overtake and attack the enemy; but this force, deterred by the diffi-

[189] *Abdu-l Fazl says the Imperial force amounted to only 10,000 horse, while their opponents numbered 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 465.*

[190] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 333) makes the number to be "2,000."*

[191] *Abu-l Fazl blames the Imperialists for not pursuing the enemy, and for allowing him time to levy contributions on Kambay and assemble his adherents.—Akbar-nama vol. iii., p. 467.*

[192] *This shows that "Mahindari" is another name for the Mahi or Mhye; for there is no other river near Patlad, and the maps give a "Wassud" on its northern bank.*

culty and narrowness of the road, came to a halt, and Muzaffar got off to Raj-pipla and Nadot.[193]

Mirza Khan and his army entered Baroda on the 16th, and there rested. While he was there, intelligence arrived that Saiyid Daulat, one of the officers of Muzaffar, had entered Kambay, and overpowered the royal forces in the place. Naurang Khan[194] was sent to repress this diversion, and having driven out the insurgent, he returned. Saiyid Daulat then came back and seized the town again. Khojam Burdi, an officer of Mirza Khan's, marched against him from Patlad, and defeated him. Mirza Khan marched with his army to Nadot, and Muzaffar went off into the mountains. Atalik Bahadur now deserted from the Imperial army, and joined Muzaffar. So the insurgents were again set in motion.

Mirza Khan imprisoned San Bahadur Uzbek, of whom he was suspicious on account of his relations with Atalik Bahadur, and he resolved to attack the rebels. Sharif Khan and Naurang Khan were appointed to the right, Kalij Khan and Tolak Khan to the left, Payinda Khan and some other *amirs* to the advance. I was sent forward to reconnoitre, and find out the best way of attacking the enemy.[195]

When I reached the foot of the hills, I attacked the enemy's infantry, and drove them back for a good *kos* to where their main force was drawn up in array. A sharp action ensued. The discharge of arrows and bullets was quite bewildering, and many men and horses on both sides were wounded. I dismounted some of my best men, and rode on with them to the mountain, and I sent some to call up Kalij Khan. I also sent Khwaja Muhammad Rafia', a man renowned for his courage. Kalij Khan came up on the left, and becoming engaged, he bore back the enemy a little. But reinforcements were brought up by the enemy, and Kalij Khan and Tolak Khan were repulsed, and fell back

[193] *Raj-pipla is south of the Nerbadda, almost on a line with Broach. Nadot is no doubt Nandod, between the Nerbadda and Raj-pipla.*

[194] *Tolak Khan in one MS.*

[195] *Mir Ma'sum Bakhari was associated with him.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 429. See Vol. I. p. 212 (Or. Ed.)*

a bow-shot distance. The men whom I had dismounted, while the enemy was pushing after Kalij Khan, finding the way clear, ascended the hill. When the enemy returned, they attacked us, and many men were killed. Kalij Khan had found some shelter and held his ground. I sent to Mirza Khan for the elephant guns (*hath-nal*). They were brought up upon the elephants, and we discharged several guns against the spot where Muzaffar was standing. Naurang Khan now came up the mountain which covered the enemy's left, and got the command of his position. When the balls from the elephant guns fell in the midst of Muzaffar's division, he fled, and great numbers of his men were taken prisoners or killed. The Imperial arms obtained a complete victory.[196] Mirza Khan returned, and came to Ahmadabad, where he busied himself in arranging the affairs of the army and the peasantry. He left Kalij Khan and . . . the other Malwa *amirs* to proceed against Broach. For seven months he remained in Ahmadabad, and at the end of that time the fort of Broach was captured. Charkas Rumi, who had deserted Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan to join Muzaffar, and was appointed by him commandant of the fortress of Broach, was taken in the fort, and executed. Nasir, who was also an officer, escaped, though half-dead.

At the time when Mirza Khan was sent to Gujarat, His Majesty commanded a city and fort to be built at Payag, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, to which the name of Illahabas was given. His Majesty went there by boat from Agra, and spent four months there pleasantly. . . . When intelligence of the killing of Kutbu-d din and the spread of the revolt in Gurarat arrived, His Majesty started for Agra and Fathpur, so that he might set out from the latter place to Gujarat. On reaching Etawa, intelligence of the victory arrived, and so he stayed at Fathpur. He sent *farmans* to the *amirs* in Gujarat. To Mirza Khan he gave the title of Khan-khanan, a horse, a robe, a jewelled

[196] *Abu-l Fazl places the scene of this action near Nandod, south of the Nerbadda, and estimates the loss of the enemy at 2,000 killed and 500 prisoners.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 430.*

dagger, and the banner of 5,000[197] (*tuman tugh*). On me, the author, he bestowed a horse, a robe, and increased emoluments. All the officers received marks of his favour.

After his second defeat, Muzaffar Gajarati retreated by way of Champanir, Birpur,[198] and Jhalawar,[199] to the country of Surath,[200] and rested at the town of Gondol, twelve *kos*[201] from the fort of Junagarh. His scattered forces gathered round him from all sides, so that he mustered nearly three thousand horse and foot. He gave a *lac* of Mahmudis and a jewelled dagger to Amin Khan Ghori, ruler of Surath, and so won his support. He gave a similar sum to Jam Marsal,[202] Raja of Jhalawar, who was at the head of a body of troops and clansmen. He once more formed designs against Ahmadabad. Amin Khan, being cautious, said to Muzaffar, "Go to the Jam, and take him along with you. I will attend to the provisions for the army, and will follow you." When Muzaffar went to the Jam, he drew back and said, "You march and advance against Ahmadabad : I will follow." On the arrival of Muzaffar at Morbi,[203] sixty *kos* from Ahmadabad, and the intelligence of his advance being brought to Khan-khanan, the Khan set off with all diligence to encounter him. When Muzaffar reached Param-gam, forty *kos* from Morbi, and neither the Jam nor Amin Khan arrived, he returned disheartened and distracted towards the mountains of Barda.[204] Then he proceeded to Jagat, which is the extreme town of Surath, and well known under the name of Dwarka.[205]

[197] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 336) makes this clear by using the words panj hazari.*

[198] *"Birpur" or "Virpur", fifty miles north-east of Ahmadabad ?*

[199] *Jhalawar is one of the ten prants or districts of Kathiwar. It is on the northern side.*

[200] *See note supra. 17th year of the reign.*

[201] *North-east.*

[202] *Badauni's reading (vol. ii., p. 359) is "Sattarasal" which looks more correct.*

[203] *The "Morvi" or "Morbi" of the maps, in the north of Kathiwar, on the route which crosses the Ran.*

[204] *Barda or Jaitwar is a prant or district of Kathtiwar. It is bounded on the west by the sea, and the river Bhadar is for some distance its southern boundary.—Thornton, s.v. "Burda".*

[205] *On the coast.*

The Jam sent his *vakils* to Khan-khanan, to represent that he was friendly to the Imperial Government; that he had taken money from Muzaffar, but had not joined him, and that he was then ready to conduct the army to the place where Muzaffar was staying. Amin Khan, also, through the introduction of Mir Turab, sent his son to wait upon Khan-khanan, and assure him of his good wishes. The Jam's men guided Khan-khanan on a rapid march into the mountains of Barda, which were plundered and ravaged. A vast quantity of booty was obtained, and many men were killed or made prisoners.

Muzaffar, with five hundred Mughal horsemen, and five hundred Kathiwar horsemen, went off towards Gujarat, and proceeded to a place called Othaniya, which is situated between the Sabarmati river and the mountain defiles, and was held by a rebellious Kol named Bhai. Whe Khan-khanan went away (into the mountains), he left Medini Rai, Khojam Bardi, . . . and others in charge of the army at Hadala, near to Danduka,[206] on the high road to Kambay. He also left Bayan Bahadur and . . . with a division at Paranti,[207] four *kos* from Othaniya.

When Muzaffar proceeded to Othaniya, Saiyid Kasim Barha came from Pattan to Bijapur,[208] which is thirty *kos* from Othaniya; and the force which was at Hadala came and joined the one at Paranti. Muzaffar, supported by the Kols and Grassias, and all the disaffected *zamindars* of the vicinity, gave battle to the force which was at Paranti; but he was signally defeated, and his elephants and canopy fell into the hands of the victors. Many of his men were killed, and he himself escaped barefoot and half-dead.

While Khan-khanan was thus engaged in the mountains of Barda, it became known that the Jam was not acting honestly. His *vakils* were dismissed, and sent back to him. The Jam prepared to oppose us, and collected an army of twenty thousand horse[209] and innumerable infantry. When Khan-khanan came to

[206] *About twenty miles N. E. of Danduka.*
[207] *Thirty miles north of Ahmadabad.*
[208] *About twenty miles N. W. of Paranti.*
[209] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 360) makes the number only "8,000 horse".*

within seven *kos* of him, he sent an envoy to make his apologies, and he also sent his son with three large elephants and eighteen Arab horses[210] to Khan-khanan, expressing his earnest desire to enter into a treaty, and to act in a friendly way. Khan-khanan then returned to Ahmadabad, and five months afterwards he was summoned to the Imperial Court, whither he proceeded in all haste.

Muzaffar was then in Kathiwar, and was greatly aggrieved with Amin Khan for having taken his money, and not having given him any help. Supported by the people of Kathiwar and the *zamindars,* he collected an army, and marched against Amin Khan, who took shelter in the fort of Amartali. Intelligence of this was brought to Kalij Khan and me, who were at Ahmadabad. Kalij Khan remained in the city, and I went out with Saiyid Kasim Khan Barha, Medini Rai and . . ., and marched forward with all speed to Surath.

When I reached Hadala, Muzaffar, feeling unable to contend with me, raised the siege of Amin Khan, and went off towards Kach. I then sent Mir Kalij and . . . to Amin Khan, proposing that we should in concert pursue Muzaffar into Kathiwar. I pushed forward and went to Morbi. Muzaffar fled and crossed the Ran, which is an inlet of the sea, and took the road to Jessalmir. In some places the breadth of the water of the Ran is ten *kos* and twenty *kos.* He went into the country which they call Kach, on the other side of this water. When I reached Morbi, the Jam and Amin Khan sent their sons to me, and having entered into engagements with me, I returned towards Biram-gam.[211]

Intelligence now arrived of the departure of Khan-khanan from Court, and of his having gone to the neighbourhood of Sirohi, with the intention of taking Sirohi and Jalor. I, in agreement with Saiyid Kasim Khan, proceeded with my men to join him. The Raja of Sirohi came to see Khan-khanan, and paid a

[210] *"Horses of Kach, which are like Arabs."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 360.*

[211] *Or "Viram-gam", twenty-five miles east of Ahmadabad.*

sum of money as tribute. Ghazin Khan, of Jalor, also came forward. But when Khan-khanan was on his way to Court, Ghazin had shown some rudeness and signs of disaffection ; he was therefore imprisoned, and possession was taken of the fort of Jalor. Khan-khanan went and took up his residence at Ahmadabad.

To return to home affairs. Twenty days after Khan-khanan arrived at Court, intelligence was brought of the death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the Emperor's brother. Orders were given to Raja Bhagwan Das and Kunwar Man Singh, the governor of the Panjab, to go and take possession of Kabul. His Majesty himself proceeded to the Panjab.

At this time Mir Murtaza and Khudawand Khan, ruler of the country of Birar in the Dakhin, marched to attack Ahmadnagar.[212] They were defeated in battle by Salabat Khan, the *vakil* of Nizamu-l Mulk, and then came complaining to the Imperial Court. A *farman* was sent to 'Azam Khan, ruler of Malwa, directing him to march against the Dakhin, and subdue Birar. *Farmans* were also sent to Mir Murtaza, Khudawand, Khan, Tiriandaz Khan, and other men of the Dakhin. Many of the great nobles, such as 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, . . Rai Durga[213] Raja Askaran,[214] . . and many others, too numerous to mention, were sent with artillery, three hundred elephants, and the army of Malwa on this expedition. Mir Fathu-lla, who had received the title of 'Azdu-d daula, was sent to make arrangements in the Dakhin. Khwajagi Fathu-lla was appointed *bakhshi*, and Mukhtar Beg *diwan* of this army.

This force concentrated at Hindia,[215] on the borders of the Dakhin. 'Azam Khan had a feud with Shahbu-d din Ahmad Khan, then ruler of Ujjain, because he suspected Shahabu-d din of having instigated the murder of his father. 'Azdu-d daula endeavoured to assuage his animosity ; but 'Azam Khan was a passionate man, and insulted both Shahabu-d din and 'Azdu-d daula. For six months the force remained inactive at Hindia.

[212] *"The capital of Nizamu-l Mulk."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 343.*
[213] *See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, vol. i., p. 417.*
[214] *Ib. p 458.*
[215] *On the south bank of the Nerbadda, Lat. 77.*

and at length matters reached such a pitch that Shahabu-d din, being offended with 'Azam Khan, went off to his *jagir* of Raisin. 'Azam Khan marched to attack him, and a dire calamity was upon the point of falling upon the royal army ; but 'Azdu-d daula managed to effect a reconciliation.

When Raja 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur, saw these dissensions in the Imperial army, he gathered his forces and marched against 'Azdu-d daula. On his approach, 'Azdu-d daula went to him, and sought to win him over ; but he did not succeed, so he retreated to Gujarat to strengthen Khan-khanan.

The above-named ('Azam Khan) went towards Birar, and plundered Elichpur ; but not being able to maintain his ground, proceeded towards Nandurbar.[216] The Dakhinis followed march by march, and 'Azam Khan, notwithstanding his great strength, fell back before them, till he reached Nandurbar. He wrote letters to Khan-khanan at Ahmadabad, calling for assistance, and Khan-khanan sent me and a number of *amirs*, such as . . ., on in advance, and declared his own intention of following. When I arrived at Mahmudabad, 'Azam Khan left his army at Nandurbar, and proceeded with a few attendants to Ahmadabad. Khan-khanan came out quickly from Ahmadabad to receive him, and they met at the place where I was resting, and then returned to Ahmadabad. 'Azam Khan's sister was wife of Khan-khanan, so he went to see her, and the two Khans resolved to proceed afterwards against the Dakhinis.

I and my associates marched againist the rebels to Baroda, and Khan-khanan and 'Azam Khan followed me ; but the latter went on quickly, in order to get the army at Nandurbar ready. Khan-khanan wrote to me, directing me to wait at Baroda till he arrived. When the Khan arrived, he proceeded with the army to Broach, and on reaching that place he received letters from 'Azam Khan, in which he said, that as the rainy season had begun, operations must be postponed to the following year, and then they would proceed together against the Dakhin. 'Azam Khan

[216] *Elichpur is in Birar, and Nandurbar in Kandesh, about 200 miles due west of the former.*

returned to Malwa, Raja Ali Khan went with the Dakhinis to their homes, and Khan-khanan returned to Ahmadabad, where he occupied himself in matters of administration for five months.

Intelligence arrived that the Emperor was marching towards Kabul, and had arrived at Atak-Banaras,[217] intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshan. Khan-khanan wrote a letter soli citing the honour of being allowed to serve under him, and the Emperor sent a *farman*, summoning him to his presence. Kalij Khan, Naurang Khan, and myself were confirmed in our commands in Gujarat. Khan-khanan and 'Azdu-daula, who had come up from 'Azam Khan, went off to join the Emperor.[218]

Just as Khan-khanan started, the news was brought in that the men of Khangar,[219] as allies of Muzaffar Gujarati, had attacked and killed Rai Singh, the *zamindar* of Jhalawar. This Rai Singh was son of Rai Man, Raja of Jhalawar; and when he succeeded his father, he attacked the neighbouring *zamindars*, such as the Jam, Khangar, and others, and subdued them. His name is celebrated in song and story, in the towns of Gujarat, for the courage he displayed, and he had a great renown.

A feud arose between Rayat and Sayat, the nephews of the chief of Khangar, and severe fighting occurred, in which Sayat was killed, and many men on both sides perished. Rai Singh also was wounded, and was left upon the field. Next day some *jogis* found him, tended him, cured him, and carried him with them to Bengal. He passed two years with them in the guise of a *jogi*. When Khan-khanan marched against Muzaffar Gujarati, he came to Khan, and told him his story. The Khan sent him

217 *"Which is also called Atak-katak."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 362. It has been shown (see supra) that Atak and Katak are alike distinguished by the addition of "Banaras."*

218 *Badauni here closes his account of the campaign in Gujarat wtih these words : "During the absence of Khan-khanan, Nizamu-d din Ahmad rendered excellent and acceptable services in Gujarat, which he himself has fully described in his Tarikh-i Nizami."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 362.*

219 *Khangar, Rao of Kach, chief of the Jhareja tribe—Thornton, vol. ii., p. 48.*

to Jhalawar to be recognised by his people. He related the facts to them, and adduced his proofs, on which they acknowledged him, and reinstated him. He attacked the people of Kathiwar, and plundered several of the tribes, and he also began to assail the country of the Jam and of Khangar. He mastered and took possession of the town of Halwad,[220] one of the dependencies of Jhalawar. The people of that neighbourhood, who had long been at enmity with him, assembled in force to attack him. The intelligence of their rising was brought to him while he was in the *chaugan* ground. He immediately started to meet them, and came up to them in a moonlit night. They sent a person to him to say that if he were really Rai Singh he would not attack them by night. He magnanimously assented to their wish, and rested where he was and went to sleep. His opponents here found their opportunity, and encouraging their followers they drew near to him, and when morning broke their whole party fell upon him. He and eighty men that were with him fought on foot, and he was killed.

When Muzaffar Gujarati heard of the departure of Khan-khanan with his troops and family, he came to Amarun,[221] where the tomb of Malik Dawaru-l Mulk is, and laid the foundations of an army. Kalij Khan remained to guard Ahmadabad, and I with Saiyid Kasim and . . . went to disperse the insurgents who had killed Rai Singh. When I reached Halwad, I sent a detachment to ravage the villages in the *pargana* of Malia,[222] which belongs to Khangar; and I sent another detachment, under Medini Rai, to Amarun against Muzaffar. Upon their approaching that place, Muzaffar went off to Kathiwar and hid himself. The Jam sent his son to me to make excuses for his cruel treatment of Rai Singh, and Khangar also sent his agents to renew his promises of loyalty. I then returned to Ahmadabad. After my arrival there Kalij Khan started for Surat, and encamped outside the city.

It then occurred to Muzaffar that after the departure of

[220] *In the North of Kathiwar, near the Ran.*
[221] *Or "Ambarun".*
[222] *Near the edge of the Ran.*

the army and the return of each man to his *jagir*, he would make a dash upon Dulaka and Kambay, as he might thus be able to raise a force before the return of the Imperial army. So he advanced rapidly upon Dulaka at the head of two thousand horsemen, Kathis and Jharejas. On receiving letters from Medini Rai, who was at Dulaka, I instantly took horse and started thither. As I was resting till evening at Sarkaj,[223] Kalij Khan came in and joined me with all the chief nobles and men of the city. Next morning we arrived at Dulaka, but then Muzaffar was four *kos* away. For when his scouts informed him that the army of Ahmadabad was approaching, he fell back to Morbi.

The Imperial army occupied Dulaka, and at night Kalij Khan returned to Ahmadabad. I and my companions followed Muzaffar. One night and the next day we travelled forty-five *kos*. On reaching Biram-gam, we heard that Muzaffar had gone to the village of Akhar, which was four *kos* off, and had there shut up Saiyid Mustafa, son of Saiyiid Jalal, who happened to be there with his family. Night had come on, and we were unable to proceed farther. So I sent twenty horsemen, with a pair of kettle-drums, directing them to go about a *kos* from the village, and beat them, that Muzaffar might suppose our army to be near and give up the siege. By God's help my stratagem succeeded, the beleaguered people were released, and Muzaffar went off to the Ran and Kach. In the morning I mounted and hastened off in pursuit. I went as far as the Ran; then leaving an outpost in the village of Jhajusa,* near the water, I returned to Ahmadabad.

Four months afterwards, the *zamindars* of Kach collected a force of nearly a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, under the command of Jasa and Bajain, nephews of Khangar. They proceeded to the village of Radhanpur,[224] one of the dependencies of Pattan, and laid siege to the fort. When intelligence of this arrived at Ahmadabad, I and . . . went off to relieve the place. On hearing of our approach, the enemy took flight, passed over the Ran, and went into their own country.

[223] *Opposite Ahmadabad.*
* *Doubtful.*
[224] *A town sixty miles west of Pattan.*

It was necessary to put an end to these proceedings, so crossed over the Ran into Kach at a place where the water was not more than three *kos* wide, and set to work plundering and destroying. We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari, and Kataria, two places well known in Kach. We realized an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly three hundred villages in the course of three days, we re-crossed the Ran opposite Malia and Morbi. Here the Ran was twelve *kos* wide, and we were engaged from dawn till eve in the passage. The water was up to a man's navel. After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Malia and Morbi, which belonged to Khangar.

We remained at Morbi three days. Here I wrote to Khangar, telling him how I had been informed that the hostile proceedings were the work of Jasa and Bajain, and had not been sanctioned by him. I had therefore inflicted a little punishment. Had it been otherwise, I would have attacked Bhuj; his residence. If he did not henceforth act loyally, he would see what would happen. Khangar sent his *vakils* to me with his apologies. After this a barrier was raised (against inroads).

In the year 995 the younger son of Amin Khan rebelled against him, and went to Muzaffar, and brought him against his father. When I heard this, I went with . . against Muzaffar, to repress this outbreak. On arriving at Rajkot,[225] 80 *kos* from Ahmadabad, and thirty from Junagarh, Muzaffar made off towards the Ran. Sidi Rihan, *vakil* of Amin Khan, and a promoter of the strife, with Nokin Gohil, and other *zamindars*, and Bir Khan Singh, Malik Rajan, and others of the chief men of those parts, nearly five hundred horsemen, separated from the insurgents, and came in to make peace. I treated them hospitably, and held out to them expectations of royal favour. The Jam and Amin Khan also sent their sons to me, and renewed their professions, of loyalty.

After returning to Ahmadabad, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grassias. In the course of two months I

[225] *Near the centre of Kathiwar.*

fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaniya and Ahmadnagar. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and Grassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check. Falling back with my forces, I went to Wakaniru and Sarnal,[226] to put down the mutinous proceedings of the Grassias. Having put Chait Rawat to death, I removed Karmi Koli, Kishna Koli, and Lakha Rajput, who were the principal Grassias of those parts, and left forts and garrisons in their places.

In the year 996 the Emperor gave Gujarat to 'Azam Khan, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lahore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.

The intelligence of the successes in Gujarat reached the Emperor as he was travelling. He returned thanks to God for his success, and continued his journey in great joy. At this time Zain Khan Koka, Raja Ram Chandar, Raja of Bittiah, a man of high repute among the Rajas of Hindustan, who had never before acknowledged allegiance to the Sultans of Hindustan, now expressed his desire of doing so, and came to wait upon the Emperor at Fathpur. He was graciously received. He presented as his tribute one hundred and twenty elephants, and a fine ruby, valued at fifty thousand rupees.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The thirtieth year of the reign and the *Nauroz-i Sultani* or New Year's Day of the Ilahi era, now arrived. (*Rejoicings*). Letters arrived from Mirza Muhammad Hakim, relating that 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek had obtained possession of Badakhshan, and that Mirza Shah Rukh and Mirza Sulaiman were coming to Hindustan. (*Mirza Shah Rukh crosses the Indus and meets with a gracious reception from the Emperor in 993 H. Marriage of Prince Salim with the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. Great ceremony and rejoicing.*)

[226] *Wakaniru or Wankanir is on the Watrak river, fifty miles N. E. of Ahmadabad.*

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

The *Nuroz-i Sultani* of the thirty-first year of the reign and the first year of the second *karn* of the reign fell upon Thursday, 19th Rabi'u-l awwal, 993 H. (11th March, 1585). (*The usual rejoicings.*)

At the beginning of this year Mir Murtaza and Khudawand Khan, *amirs* of the Dakhin, came to the Imperial Court. Their affairs have been already noticed in describing the occurrences in Gujarat. When they were defeated by Salabat Khan, and came to Burhanpur, Raja 'Ali Khan, the governor of that place, took their elephants from them, and he sent 150 of them in charge of his son to the Emperor. The Dakhini *amirs* were received, and presented their tribute on New Year's Day.

Mir Fathu-lla Shirazi, who had the title of 'Azdu-d daula, was now created chief *Sadr* of Hindustan, and received at the same time a horse, a robe, and five thousand rupees.

Letters arrived from Kabul, starting that . . . Mirza Sulaiman with the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had returned to Badakhshan, and obtained a victory over the army of 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek. . . . . . Letters now arrived from Atak-Banaras, from Kunwar Man Singh and Khwaja Shamsu-din Muhammad with the information that Mirza Muhammad Hakim was very ill. That Faridun had started with a caravan from Peshawar to Kabul, but had been defeated by Afghans in the Khaibar Pass, and compelled to retreat to Peshawar. That a fire had broken out in the fort of Peshawar, and that a thousand camel-loads of merchandize had been consumed. That through this disaster Faridun had got free, and had gone by another road to Kabul, and that seventy men had perished on the journey from thirst.

'Abdu-lla Khan of Badakhshan, when he was informed of Mirza Sulaiman's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mirza Sulaiman, unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kabul, and all Badakhshan came into the power of the Uzkeks.

Intelligence now reached the Emperor of the death of Mirza

Muhammad Hakim. The Mirza was the Emperor's own brother, but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mirza had often been presumptuous and aggressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had sent *amirs* and armies to maintain him in Kabul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th Shaban, 993. When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confirm the country of Kabul to the sons of the Mirza. But the nobles urged that the Mirza's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshan was on the look out for Kabul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Panjab, and he began his march on the 10th Ramazan. . .

The Emperor travelled on by successive stages without making any halt to Delhi. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints, and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *'Id*. On the 19th Shawwal he reached the banks of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kunwar Man Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshawar, and that Shah Beg, the officer of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had fled to Kabul.

Sadik Khan was sent from Lahore to take charge of the Government of Bhakar. On the 17th Zi-l ka'da the Emperor encamped by the side of the Chinab; . . . and on the 28th he reached and crossed the Behut (Beyah). Here he received a despatch from Kunwar Man Singh, reporting that the people of Kabul had willingly submitted to the Imperial rule. Muhammad 'Ali Khazanchi, who had been sent to Kabul, returned and reported that when Muhammad Hakim Mirza died, his sons[227] were so young and incapable, that the direction of affairs at Kabul was in the hands of the nobles, who were favourable to the claims

[227] *Their names were "Kaikubad and Afrasiyab."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 348. The former was fourteen, and the latter nine years of age.—Akbar-nama.*

of the Emperor. Moreover, Faridun Khan, the uncle of the late Mirza, when Kunwar Man Singh entered Kabul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young princes to wait upon the Kunwar. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection. Kunwar Man Singh left his own sons in Kabul in the charge of Shamsu-d din Khafi, and set off with the young princes and the nobles of Kabul to meet the Emperor. On the 25th Zi-l hijja the Kunwar brought the princes and the Kabul nobles into the presence of the Emperor at the town of Rawalpindi, which is situated between Rohtas and Atak. They were received with princely generosity. Each of the chief attendants received five thousand or six thousands rupees as a gift. Suitable allowances and *jagirs* were also granted.

When the Emperor reached Atak, he sent Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, and other well-known *amirs*, with about 5,000 horse, to effect the conquest of Kashmir. On the same day Isma'il Kuli Khan and Rai Singh were sent against the Biluchis. Next day Zain Khan Koka was sent with a force against the Afghans of Swad (Swat) and Bajaur, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Atak on the 15th Muharram, 994.

In former times[228] a Hindustani soldier had come among the Afghans, and set up an heretical sect.[229] He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of *Pir Roshanai*.[230] He was dead, but his son Jalala, a youth of about fourteen, came, in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kabul. He was kindly received ; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghans. There he raised disturbances : and gathering a good number of men around him, he shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. In order to repress this base sect of *Roshanais*, whose baseness will be

[228] *Twenty-five years before this time."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 349.*

[229] *"Mazhab-i zandaka wa ilhad."*

[230] *He wrote a book called "Khairu-l bayan," in which he expounded his heretical tenets.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 349.*

hereafter described, His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command, and gave him Kabul in *jagir*.

When intelligence arrived of Zain Khan Koka having entered the country of Swat, and of his having encountered this sect of Afghans, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd Safar, 994 H., Saiyid Khan Gakhar, Raja Birbal, and . . . . were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakim Abu-l Fath was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined, Zain Khan began to plunder and ravage the Afghans, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person observed to Raja Birbal that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*, and that if they got through the pass, they would be safe from the attack designed. Raja Birbal,[231] without making any communication to Zain Khan, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered down upon the troops in the narrow pass, and in the darkness and in the narrow defile men lost their path, and perished in recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly eight thousand men were killed, and Raja Birbal, who fled for his life, was slain.[232] Raja Dharm Singh, Khwaja 'Arab, *bakhshi* of the army, and . . . were all killed. On the 5th Rabi'u-l awwal Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abu-l Fath were defeated, and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor. He dismissed these commanders, and sent Raja Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Raja entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great

[231] *"In his reckless headstrong conceit", says Badauni (vol. ii., p. 350), who seldom misses an opportunity of venting his spleen upon a* Hindu."

[232] *Many reports of his having escaped were afterwards current, but they all proved to be false.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 357.*

straits. Raja Man Singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaibar Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Raja obtained a great victory.

News now arrived that Mir Kuraish was coming to Court as an ambassador from 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, King of Mawarau-n nahr, bringing presents. Nazar Be,[233] who was one of the great nobles of 'Abdu-lla Khan, being offended with the Khan, was also coming with his three sons, Ka'bz Be, Shadi Be, and Baki Be, all of whom had attained the rank of nobles. The Emperor sent Shaikh Farid Bakhshi and Ahmad Beg Kabuli, with a party of *ahadis*, to meet the caravan and bring it through the Khaibar Pass. This armed party, with the help of Kunwar Man Singh, brought the caravan through the pass, having beaten the black sectaries who attempted to block the road, and killed many of them.

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

On the 11th Rabi'u-l akhir, 995 (11th March, 1587 A.D.), when the sun passed from Pisces to Aries, the *Nauroz-i Sultani* was celebrated at the fort of Atak, and Kunwar Man Singh came to the feast.

When Mirza Shah Rukh, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Shah Kuli Khan Mahram reached the pass of Bhuliyas,[234] on the confines of Kashmir, Yusuf Khan, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass. The Imperial forces remained for some days inactive, snow and rain came on; and the supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain Khan arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The *amirs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls, and by the mint to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors.[235] Yusuf was delighted with these terms, and came

[233] *"An Uzbek, and ruler of Balkh."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 351.*
[234] *"Phulbas".—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 352.*
[235] *"They gave the country entirely over to Yusuf."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 3*52.

to visit the *amirs*, and they brought him along with them to see the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the *amirs* were forbidden his presence; but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances.

About this time the ambassador of 'Abdu-lla Khan with Nazar Be, and his sons arrived, and had an interview. Ismail Kuli Khan and Rai Singh also arrived, bringing with them the chief men and leaders of the Biluchis. A sum of four *lacs* of *tankas* equal to five hundred *tumans* of 'Irak, was presented as a gift to Nazar Be and his sons. After the feast of the *Nauroz* was over, Kunwar Man Singh was ordered to go to the support of Raja Todar Mal, who had been sent against the Yusufzai Afghans and others. When the Emperor had settled the course to be pursued with the Afghans and the affairs of Atak and Kabul, he resolved to return to Lahore, and started on the 24th Rabi'us sani. Hunting and amusing himself as he went, he arrived at Lahore on the 18th Jumada-s sani.[236]

When Kunwar Man Singh was appointed to the government of Kabul, Isma'il Kuli Khan was sent from the river Behut (Beyah) in command of a strong force against the Yusufzai and other Afghans. An Imperial order was issued to Kunwar Man Singh, that when Isma'il Kuli arrived, the Kunwar was to go on to Kabul. Saiyid Bukhari also was appointed to support Ismail Kuli, and was directed to occupy Peshawar.

Mir 'Arab Bahadur, who had fled for refuge into the hills of Kamaun, and had troubled the inhabitants of the country at the foot of the hills, was killed by the servants of Mir Abu-l Fath in the *pargana* of Sherkot.

On the 13th Rajab the ceremony of weighing the Emperor was performed, and a splendid festival was held; and on the 19th Prince Salim was married to the daughter of Rai Singh, one of the great nobles. The Raja sent fine presents with his daughter, and felt highly honoured by the alliance.

Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr* and . . . was sent with a

[236] *The author's arrangement has been slightly changed here. In his diary style of writing, several lines are interposed between the Emperor's departure for and arrival at Lahore.*

large force to effect the conquest of Kashmir. After seven marches they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kartal, Ya'kub, the son of Yusuf Khan,[237] considering himself ruler of Kashmir, came with a considerable force to oppose them. He closed the pass, and there took his post. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the stone of dissension was cast among the Kashmiris. The chiefs of Kashmir were distressed with the rule of Ya'kub, and several deserted from him and joined Kasim Khan. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srinagar, which is the capital of the country. Ya'kub, deeming it of primary importaince to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kashmir. The Imperial army then entered Kashmir without opposition, and Ya'kub, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Srinagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the *parganas*.

The Emperor, on being informed of the conquest, sent letters of thanks to Kasim Khan and the other *amirs,* and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yakub raised a force, and fought with Kasim Khan, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles, beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last, in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited upon Kasim Khan, and enrolled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.[238] The country of Kashmir was thus cleared.

On the 19th Ramazan the ambassador of 'Abdu-lla Khan received leave to return. Hakim Humam . . . was sent as envoy to 'Abdu-lla Khan, and Mir Sadr Jahan . . . as a complimentary visitor to Iskandar Khan, the father of 'Abdu-lla Khan. Nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, equal to three thousand seven hundred *tumans* of 'Irak, goods of Hindustan, and curiosities were en-

[237] *Yusuf Khan had been thrown into prison, and Yakub "treated his father as dead".—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 353.*

[238] *He was eventually sent into Bihar to Raja Man Singh, to join his father; and both Yusuf and Yakub there died in confinement, worn out with trouble and chargin.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 353. Abu-l Fazl, however, says that "Yusuf was released from prison, and received a jagir, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received."—Akbar-nama vol. iii., p. 549.*

trusted to Muhammad 'Ali Khazanchi for presentation to 'Abdu-lla Khan.

Saiyid Hamid Bukhari, formerly one of the nobles of the Sultans of Gujarat, had been received into the Imperial service, and was sent to Peshwar for the repression of the Roshanai sectaries. They had assembled about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse to attack him. He, and a few men who were with him at the time, fought and perished. The Emperor sent Zain Khan Koka and . . with a large force to subdue these heretics, who occupied the Khaibar Pass, and closed the road between Kabul and Hindustan. Kunwar Man Singh marched from Kabul,[239] and attacked and defeated them in the Khaibar, and put a great many of them to the sword. He then occupied Jamrud, and left a detachment in the Khaibar.

Mirza Sulaiman, having returned from his pilgrimage to Mecca, once more tried his fortune in Badakhshan; but he was unable to contend against 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, and fled to Kabul. From thence he went to Hindustan, and was received by the Emperor in the month of Rabi'u-l awwal, 995 H.

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 23rd Rabi'u-l akhir, 996 H. (11th March, 1588). (*Festival of New Year's Day.*)

Kunwar Man Singh completely subdued Jalala the sectary, so that he could no longer make any resistance, and was compelled to take flight towards Bangash. 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, and . . . were sent after him with a detachment to Bangash. Jalala deceived the royal commanders, and gathering a numerous force around him, he attacked them, and a fierce battle ensued. But the rabble were defeated and put to flight, and many of them were killed.

[239] *"Next day the heretics assembled in great force, and howling all night and day like jackals, they kept up a fight in all directions. At this crisis Man Singh's brother, Madhu Singh, who was stationed at Ohind with Isma'il Kuli Khan, arrived with a strong force to the assistance of his brother. The Afghans then fled, and nearly 2,000 were killed."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 355.*

In this year a son was born to Prince Salim by the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das (*Rejoicings*).

In this year Sadik Khan, Governor of Bhakar, under orders, proceeded to attack the country of Tatta. He besieged the fort of Sihwan, and Jani Beg, ruler of Tatta, grandson of Muhammad Baki Tarkhan, following the humble practice of his ancestors, sent envoys with suitable gifts to the Imperial Court. The Emperor took compassion on him, and sent a *farman* to Sadik Khan, saying, "I bestow the country upon Jàni Beg. Withdraw from its occupation." On the 25th Zi-l ka'da the envoys of Jani Beg received leave to depart; and to show them greater honour, Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk was sent with them, and they received many princely gifts.

At the beginning of Rabi'u-s sani the government of Kabul was given to Zain Khan Koka, and Raja Man Singh was recalled to Court. At the end of the same month Khan-khanan Mirza Khan made a rapid journey from Gujarat with 'Azdu-d daula, and was most graciously received. On the 28th Rajab Sadik Khan came from Bhakar. Man Singh arrived in Sha'ban, and at the end of the year he was appointed governor of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna. About the same time the government of Kashmir was given to Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, and Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr* was recalled. Sadik Khan was sent to Swat and Bajaur against the Yusufzais, and the *jagirs* of Man Singh at Sialkot and elsewhere were granted to him. Isma'il Kuli Khan was recalled from Swat and Bajaur, and sent to Gujarat, to replace Kalij Khan, who was summoned to Court. The government of Bihar and Bengal was conferred on Kunwar Man Singh.

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, 4th Jumada-l awwal, 997, (11th March, 1589). (*The usual festival of eighteen days.*)[240]

[240] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 365) places some of the following events in the thirty-third year.*

Kalij Khan arrived from Gujarat, and was appoined to assist Raja Todar Mal[241] in Revenue and Civil administration. Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk returned from his embassy to Tatta, with the envoys of Jani Beg Tarkhan, who brought the offerings of the Beg along with a letter.

On the 22nd Jumada-s sani, 997, the Emperor started to pay a visit to Kashmir and Kabul. On reaching Bhimbhar,[242] at the beginning of the mountains of Kashmir, he there left the ladies of the *harem* with the Prince Murad, and went on express. On the 1st Sha'ban he reached Srinagar, where he remained some days, visiting the city and neighbourhood. When the rainy season came on, letters were sent for the ladies of the *harem* and Prince Murad to go to Rohtas, and there await his return. Amir Fathu-lla Shirazi ('Azdu-d daula) died in Kashmir, to the great sorrow of the Emperor. Shaik Faizi wrote an elegy upon him. . . .

On the 27th Ramazan the Emperor started for Kabul by way of Pakhali and the fort of Atak. Abu-l Fath, one of His Majesty's friends and companions, died at Dhamtaur, and was buried at Hasan Abdal. Prince Murad and the ladies, by command of the Emperor, came up to Atak from Rohtas. Here Shahbaz Khan Kambu was sent against the remaining Afghans. His Majesty then crossed the Indus, and proceeded on to Kabul, where he arrived on the 22nd Zi-l ka'da. Hakim Humam and Mir Sadr Jahan, who had been sent on an embassy to Mawarau-n nahr, now returned, bringing with them an ambassador from 'Abdu-lla Khan, who was the bearer of a letter and presents. His Majesty spent two months at Kabul, often visiting the gardens and places of interest. All the people of Kabul, noble and simple, profited by his presence.

Here intelligence reached him that Raja Todar Mal *Walkilu-s saltanat*, and *mushrif-i diwan*, and Raja Bhagwan Das

241 *"Who had grown old and stupid and had lately received a wound from a sabre at the hands of an enemy who lay in ambush for him."—Badauni. vol. ii., p. 365.*

242 *"Which the people of Kashmir call Kaji-dar"—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 563.*

amiru-l umara had died, at Lahore.[243] On the 8th Muharram, 998, the Emperor started on his return[244] to Hindustan, leaving the government of Kabul in the hands of Muhammad Kasim *Mir-bahr*, with Tokhta Beg Kabuli, and . . . . several amirs, as co-adjutors. He gave the government of Gujarat to Mirza 'Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash *'Azam Khan*, who held the government of Malwa.[245] He recalled me, Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khan-khanan he gave Jaunpur instead of the *jagir* which he had in Gujarat.[246]

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 14th Jumada-l awwal, 998. (*The usual celebration at Lahore*).

The author of this work, with his escort of camel-riders, arrived at Court, having performed the journey[247] in twelve days. He was very kindly received. Raja Bhagwan Das being dead, his son Man Singh, one of the great nobles and governor of Bihar and Bengal, succeeded to the title of Raja, and the Emperor sent him a letter by one of his attendants with a robe and horse.

'AZAM KHAN'S CAMPAIGN IN GUJARAT

When 'Azam Khan arrived in Gujarat, he essayed to conquer the territory of the Jam,[248] one of the *zamindars* of that quarter who

[243] *Badauni cannot repress his bitter religious hatred, even in recording the deaths of these faithful servants of the throne. His words are (vol. ii., p. 371), "They went to their everlasting abode in hell". He has some verses also, conceived in the same spirit. Abu-l Fazl is more generous. Of Todar Mal he says that "for honesty, rectitude, manliness, knowledge of business, and administrative ability, he was without a rival in Hindustan."—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 595.*

[244] *He met with two serious falls on his journey homewards. One at a hyæna hunt; the other from a female elephant which was attacked by a furious male.—Akbar-nama, vol. iii., p. 597.*

[245] *Malwa was given to Shahab Khan, but 'Azam Khan, in spite against his successor, wasted the province and laid it desolate (khak-siyah) before leaving it.— Badauni, vol. ii., p. 372.*

[246] *It was at this time that Khan-khanan was elevated to the wakalat or premiership (This fact should appear in page 597 of vol. iii., of the Lucknow edition of the Akbar-nama, but there is an omission there of several lines.)*

[247] *Six hundred kos."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 372.*

[248] *"Sattarsal" by name.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 373.*

maintained a numerous body of men. The Jam, in concert with Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan, ruler of Junagarh, and *locum tenens* of his father, and several other *zamindars*, assembled nearly twenty thousand horse. 'Azam Khan divided his army into seven divisions, and some severe fighting followed. Saiyid Kasim Barha, in command of the advanced force, fought bravely. Khwaja Muhammad Rafia, commander of the left, was killed with some other *amirs*, old servants of the State. Mir Sharafu-d din, nephew of Mir Abu Turab, was killed with the van. Four thousand Rajputs fell in the battle. The eldest son and represent-tative of the Jam, with his *wazir*, were among the slain. Victory declared itself in favour of 'Azam Khan. The date of the battle was 6th Shawwal, 998 H.[249]

The city of Lahore had been for some years (*chand sal*) the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jani Beg, of Tatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enrol himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khan-khanan was now appointed governor of Multan and Bhakar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sind and the Biluchis. In the month of Rabi'u-s sani he was sent on his enterprise along with . . . and a number of nobles, whose names are too numerous to record. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery. Khwaja Muhammad Mukim, an old servant of the State, was appointed *bakhshi*. The King of Poets (Faizi) found the date of this enterprise in the words "*Kasad-i Tatta.*"

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Thursday, 24th Jumada-l awwal, 999 H. (11th March, 1591). (*Usual rejoicings*).

In Shawwal of this year four servants of the State were selected to go on missions to the four rulers of the Dakhin. The King of Poets, Shaikh Faizi, was sent to Raja 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. Khawaja Aminu-d din was sent

[249] *Briggs justly observes, that as no results followed this "victory", it was most likely a defeat.—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii., p. 264.*

to Burhanu-l Mulk, who, supported by the arms of the Imperial Government, held Ahmadnagar, the seat of his ancestors. Mir Muhammad Amin was sent to 'Adil Khan, the ruler of Bijapur, and Mir Mirza to Kutbu-l Mulse, the ruler of Golconda. Shaikh Faizi received directions to proceed to Burhanu-l Mulk after having terminated his own mission.

On the 28th Zi-l hijja Prince Shah Murad, better known by his cognomen, "Pahari Jiu", was appointed to the Government of Malwa, receiving the standard, kettle-drums, the *taman*, the *tugh* banner, and all the insignia pertaining to a prince royal, Isma'il Kuli Khan was appointed to be his *vakil* (*general manager*), and . . . were also sent to serve under him. When the Prince reached Gwalior, he found that Madhukar, *zamindar* of Undachah, who held a prominent position among the Rajas of these parts, on account of his numerous adherents, had seized upon the *parganas* of Gwalior. So the Prince resolved to chastise him. Madhukar assembled his numerous forces to resist, but he was defeated in battle,[250] and obliged to fly into the jungles and hills.[251] All his territory was ravaged, and then his son Ram Chandar, who was his eldest son and representative, came humbly to beg for mercy, and to be admitted a subject of the Imperial throne. He waited on the Prince, and presented a large tribute, and the Prince sent him to the Emperor, who, when he arrived, granted him pardon for his offences. The Prince took up his residence at Ujjain.

'Azam Khan, after his victory over the Jam, remained for a time at Ahmedabad, and then resolved upon the conquest of Surath and the fort of Junagarh. Daulat Khan, son of Amin Khan, who had succeeded his father as chief, had been wounded in a battle with the Jam, and was dead. Having determined upon this campaign, 'Azam Khan proceeded to the country. The son of Daulat Khan, with his father's ministers, took refuge in the fortress (of Junagarh) and temporized. But when they found matters going ill with them, the ministers begged for mercy, and brought the youth to 'Azam Khan, presenting the keys

[250] *In the vicinity of Narwar.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 378.*
[251] *Where he died a natural death.*

of the fortress, and professing their allegiance. This conquest was effected on the 5th Zi-l ka'da.

*Khan-khanan, who marched to conquer Tatta, laid siege to the fortress of Sihwan. Jani Beg, with all the *zamindars* of that cauntry, came with *gharabs* and boats armed with artillery, to give battle. Khan-khanan raised the siege, and marched forwards. When he arrived at Nasrpur, there was a distance of seven *kos* between the rival forces. Jani Beg advanced to battle with more than a hundred *ghrabs* and two hundred boats (*kishti*) full of archers, gunners, and large guns. Khan-khanan, although he had only twenty-five *ghrabs*, went to meet him, and the fight began. The battle went on for a night and a day, but victory at length declared in favour of the Imperial arms. Jani Beg had two hundred men killed in his *ghrabs*, seven *ghrabs* were taken, and the rest made off. This battle was fought on the 26th Muharram, 1,000 H. After his defeat, Jani Beg withdrew to a spot[252] on the banks of the river, which was flanked by water and morasses (*chihla*).** Here he entrenched his force. Khan-khanan raised batteries before it, and besieged it for two months. During this time the Emperor sent 150,000 rupees, then 100,000 rupees, then 100,000 *mans* of grain, with several[253] large guns and many gunners, to reinforce Khan-khanan. He also sent Raja Rai Singh, a noble of four thousand, by the route of Jesalmir.

THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Saturday, 6th Jumada-l akhir, 1,000 H. (*Usual rejoicings at Lahore*).

Jalala the sectary, who had fled to 'Abdu-lla Khan (in Badakhshan), now returned, and again engaged in revolt and robbery. On New Year's Day Ja'far Beg Asaf Khan, the *bakhshi*, was named to lead an army against him in communica-

* *See Vol. I. p. 248 (Or. Ed.)*

252 *Firishta transcribes this account, but here he uses the more specific word bini, a naze or promontory. Briggs renders the passage by a paraphrase, "on a spot of ground surrounded by a swamp, which was flooded at high water."*

253 *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 379) specifies the number as 'one hundred'.*

** *See Vol. I. p. 249 (Or. Ed.)*

tion with Muhammad Kasim Khan, governor of Kabul. I, the author, was appointed to the post of *bakhshi*. At the end of Sha'ban, Zain Khan Koka, who had been sent to settle the country of Swat and Bajaur, and root out those Afghans who had escaped the sword, was ordered to march and exterminate Jalala.

On the 24th Shawwal, agreeing with 12th Amurdad of the 37th year of the reign, the Emperor set off hunting to the banks of the Chinab, on the way to Kashmir. He passed the Ravi, and stayed for five days, enjoying himself in the garden of Ram Das. From thence he made a march of three *kos*. Then he appointed Kalij Khan and Mota Raja to take charge of affairs at Lahore. As it was now the rainy season, and the waters were out, he left Prince Salim to march on slowly with the camp, while he hastened on with his hunting attendants to the Chinab. Here he received intelligence that Yadgar, nephew of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, governor of Kashmir, had conspired with some disaffected Kashmiris, and having raised the standard of revolt, had assumed the title of Sultan. Kazi 'Ali, the *diwan* of Kashmir, and Hasan Beg Shaikh Umari, the collector (*tahsildar-i akhraj*), attacked him with their men, but Kazi 'Ali was killed, and Husain Beg was glad to escape half dead[254] to Rajauri. His Majesty sent Farid Bakhsh with a party of *amirs*, such as . . . ., and a thousand Badakhshani Aimak horsemen, into Kashmir. He himself crossed the Chinab, and waited there for a while hunting, until Prince Salim came up with the camp.

Khan-khanan had besieged Jani Beg for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindians had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce, and bread exceedingly dear. Khan-khanan had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jun, near Tatta. But he sent a portion of his force, under Saiyid Bahau-d din Bukhari . . ., Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Bhakari, and other of his officers, to invest Sihwan. Jani Beg, assuming Sihwan force to be weak in numbers, marched against it. When Khan-khanan heard of this movement, he sent off with all possible speed Daulat Khan

[254] *Through the passes of Kashmir.*

Lodi, Khwaja Muhammad Hakim *Bakhshi*, Dharu son of Raja Todar Mal, Dal Bait the son of Rai Singh, and . . . to reinforce the Sihwan division. This detachment marched eighty *kos* in two days, and effected a junction.

Next day Jani Beg came up and arrayed his army. Daulat Khan also made his dispositions. His force amounted to only two thousand, while Jani Beg had more than five thousand. But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went into battle. Raja Todar Mal's son Dharu fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jani Beg flew towards the banks of the river. He stopped at the village of Unarpur,[255] on the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself. Khan-khanan upon his side, and the Sihwan force upon the other, bore down upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day. At length Jani Beg's men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jani Beg was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and to promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season, Khan-khanan remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sihwan, for that time. The fort of Sihwan was surrendered, and Jani Beg gave his daughter in marriage to Mirza Iraj, son of Khan-khanan. He also surrendered twenty *ghrabs*.

The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kashmir. He then continued his journey to Kashmir, and when he arrived near Bhimbhar, which is at the beginning of the mountain passes, he received intelligence that his army, having made five or six marches in the mountains, had been attacked by a force of Kashmiris and men belonging to Yadgar, who had blockaded the pass of Kartal.[256] But these men were unable to hold their

[255] *Var. "Ambarpur."*

[256] *This is very doubtful name, see supra. It is written Kartal, Kamarbal, Kartal and Kenarbal.*

ground against the brave soldiers of the army, and took to flight. Yadgar came up as far as Hamirpur with a large force to oppose the progress of the royal army; but in the course of the night a party of Afghans and Turkomans belonging to Mirza Yusuf Khan fell upon him and put him to death. Three days afterwards his head was brought to the Emperor, and was exposed as a warning. The Emperor's good fortune thus secured an easy victory for him. It was a curious coincidence, that the day on which the Emperor crossed the river of Lahore to proceed to Kashmir, was the day on which Yadagar broke out in rebellion and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name.

On the 23rd Zi-l hijja, the Emperor left Prince Daniyal behind in charge of the ladies of the *harem* because he was not well, and he was directed to proceed with them to the fort of Rohtas. The Emperor himself went on rapidly to Kashmir, taking me with him in attendance. On the 8th Muharram, 1,001, he reached Kashmir, and stayed there eight days, riding about and hunting water-fowl. He conferred the government of Kashmir on Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, and left a number of officers with him, such as . . . On the 6th Safar he started on his return journey, and embarking in a boat, he proceeded towards Bara-mula, on the confines of Kashmir, in the way to Pakhali. On the road he saw a reservoir called Zain-lanka. This reservoir is inclosed on the west, north and south by mountains, and it is thirty *kos* in circumference. The river Behut (Jilam) passes through this lake. Its water is very pure and deep. Sultan Zainu-l 'abidin carried out a pier of stone to the distance of one *jarib* into the lake, and upon it erected a high building. Nothing like this lake and building is to be found in India. After visiting this edifice, he went to Bara-mula, where he disembarked, and proceeded by land to Pakhali. When he reached that place, there was a heavy fall of snow and rain. From thence he went on rapidly to Rohtas. I, the author of this history, and . . . were ordered to follow slowly with the ladies of the *harem*. It is a curious fact, that when the Emperor started on his return from Kashmir, he observed, "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it.

If a snow-storm should come upon us in the neighbourhood of Pakhali, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal he reached the fort of Rohtas, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lahore, the capital, and on the 6th Rabi'u-s sani he arrived there.

Intelligence here reached him that Raja Man Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Katlu Afghan, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country which lies beyond Bengal to the Imperial dominions.

THIRTY-EIGHT YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with the 17th Jumada-s sani, 1,001 (11th March, 1593). (*Rejoicings*).

In the midst of the rejoicings, on the 24th Jumada-s sani, Khan-khanan arrived with Jani Beg, the ruler of Tatta, and was graciously received. Shah Beg Khan, and . . . other *amirs* who had taken part in this campaign, also presented themselves at Court, and were suitably rewarded, with *jagirs*, increase of allowances and promotioin.

At the time when the fort of Junagarh and the country of Surath were subdued and annexed to the Imperial dominions, Suttan Muzaffar Gujarati, who was in that part of the country, fled and betook himself to Khangar, the zamindar of the country of Kach. 'Azam Khan attacked Khangar and ravaged some of his territories. This induced him to proffer his own allegiance, and to make Muzaffar a prisoner. Under this arrangement the son of 'Azam Khan made a sudden unexpected attack upon the place where Muzaffar was staying, and took him prisoner. As they were going along, Muzaffar made an excuse for retiring into privacy, and then cut his throat with a razor so that he died. His head was then cut off and sent to 'Azam Khan, who sent it on to the Emperor.

One hundred and twenty elephants, taken by Raja Man Singh in Orissa, now arrived at Court, and were presented to the Em-

peror. 'Azam Khan Mirza 'Aziz Koka had now been absent from Court ten years, so a *farman* was written calling him to Court, to receive the marks of royal approbation. Meanwhile some mischief-makers had reported to the Khan some unkind words which the Emperor was said to have used regarding him.[257] So on the 1st Rajab he embarked in a ship with his sons and family, and sailed for Hijjaz. When the Emperor was informed of this, he gave the country of Gujarat to Prince Shah Murad, and a *farman* was issued directing him to proceed from Malwa to Gujarat. Muhammad Sadik Khan, one of the great nobles, was appointed his *vakil,* and the *sarkars* of Surat, Broach and Baroda, were assigned to him in *jagir.*

On the 21st Amurdad of the 38th year of the reign, agreeing with 14th Zi-l kada, 1,001H, Zain Khan Koka and Asaf Khan, who had been sent to chastise the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur, and to repress Jalala the sectary, killed a great many of them and sent the wives and family of Jalala and of Wahdat 'Ali, his brother, with all their friends, nearly four hundred[258] in number, to Court.

On the 29th Zi-l Kada the goverment of Malwa was given to Mirza Shah Rukh ; and Shahbaz Khan Kambu, who had been three years in prison, was released, and appointed to be the *vakil* and general manager of the affairs of Malwa, under Shah Rukh.

On the 12th Muharram, 1,002, Mirza Rustam,[259] son of Sultan Hussain Mirza, son of Bahram, son of Shah Isma'il Safawi (Shah of Persia), who held the government of Zamin-dawar, came to bring a complaint to the Emperor, accompanied by his sons and family. (*Grand reception*). The Emperor presented him with a *kror* of *tankas,* made him a *panj-hazari,*[260] and gave him Multan in *jagir.*

[257] *He had long entertained the desire of going to Mecca.*

[258] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 388) gives the increditable number of "14,000"*

[259] *He was unable to maintain himself in Zamin-dawar against the enmity of his brother and the increasing power of he Uzbeks.*

[260] *A commander of 5,000.*

At this time the Prince of Poets, Shaikh Faizi, returned from his mission to Raja 'Ali Khan and Burhanu-l Mulk Dakhini. Mir Muhammad Amin, Mir Munir, and Aminu-d din also returned from their missions to the different rulers of the Dakhin. Burhanu-l Mulk had received favours and assistance from His Majesty, but now he did not send suitable tribute, nor did he act in a grateful and becoming way. His tribute did not exceed fifteen elephants, some fabrics of the Dakhin, and a few jewels. So the Emperor determined to effect the conquest of the Dakhin, and on the 21st Muharram he appointed Prince Daniyal to command the invading army. Khan-khanan, Rai Singh,[261] Rai Bil, Hakim 'Ainu-l Mulk, and other *amirs* of Malwa, and *jagirdars* of the *subas* of Ajmir and Dehli, were appointed to attend him. Seventy thousand horse were ordered on this campaign. The Emperor himself went out with them, hunting as he went, as far as the river of Sultanpur, thirty-five *kos* from Lahore. Khan-Khanan, in attendance upon Prince Daniyal,[262] had come as far as Sirhind, and was summonded to hold a Council with the Emperor. He joined the royal party at Shaikhupur, and the campaign in the Dakhin was re-considered. Khan-khanan was now ordered to proceed on the service alone, without troubling Prince Daniyal. An order was published that the army of the Dakhin was to serve under Khan-khanan, and Prince Daniyal was recalled. With high marks of favour Khan-khanan commenced the march. He took leave of the Emperor at Agra, and His Majesty returned, hunting as he went, to the capital Lahore.

I have thus written a history of the occurrences of the reign of the Emperor Akbar, as perfect as my poor pen can accomplish, up to the thirty-eighth year of his reign. If life is spared and grace is given to me, I will, please God, also record the events of days to come, so that my volume may be completed.

[261] *Whom one might call Rai Sag, says Badauni (vol. ii., p. 389), sag meaning dog.*

[262] *The Prince at this time married a daughter of Khan-khanan.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 389.*

HUSAIN KHAN TUKRIYA[263]

He was called *Tukriya*, from the fact of his having issued an order, when he was Governor of Lahore, to the effect that Hindus should bear on their shoulders a discriminating mark, which being called in Hindi, *Tukri*, obtained for him the nickname of *Tukriya*. He was nephew and son-in-law of Imam Mahdi Kasim Khan, and was a *mansabdar* of 2,000. He died A.H. 983.[264]

MIR FATHU-LLA SHIRAZI

In the year 990 H., corresponding with the 26th of the Ilahi, the Amir arrived at Court from the Dakhin, and was received with royal favour. He was directed, in conjunction with the Ministers, to revise the system of administration, and to inquire into the management of the civil and revenue administration.[265] On this duty he was engaged for many years, and, in token of the King's satisfaction, was honoured with the title of 'Azdu-d daulah. He was a very learned man, and was better versed in every kind of knowledge, theoretical and practical, than any man in Khurasan, 'Irak or Hindustan. In short, in the whole world he was without a rival. He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement. . . . . In Kashmir, he departed for the land of eternity in the year 997 H.

263 *These two Extracts are from the biographical portion of the work, which comes in at the end of the reign of Akbar. They appeared in the old vol. of 1849.*

264 *Some of the proceedings of this enthusiast will be found in the Extracts from Badauni. See Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh.*

The Ma-asiru-l Umara tells us that this order was issued in consequence of his having one day saluted a Hindu, who passed by with a long beared, the distinctive mark of a Musulman. We do not learn whether this edict was approved or annulled. In the decline of the republic, when a similar measure was proposed at Rome with respect to the slaves, a wise man exclaimed, "quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos coepissent!" Seneca, De Glementia, p. 24.

265 *bih taftih mu'amilat 'ali wa ishtighal diwani.*

SULTAN MAHMUD KHAN OF MULTAN[266]

A few days after, Sultan Mahmud assembled an army, and marched on Shor,[267] when Jam Bayazid, leading out 'Alam Khan, with the general consent of his followers, advanced to the distance of twenty miles from Shor to meet him. When he reached the Ravi, he halted, and sent a letter to Daulat Khan Lodi, acquainting him with the particulars of the movement. Upon receipt of this intelligence, Daulat Khan Lodi, at the head of the Panjab forces, came to the assistance of Jam Bayazid before the conflict was at an end, and despatched a confidential person to Sultan Mahmud, to enter into a negotiation for peace. At last, through his meditation, a peace was arranged, under the terms of which the Ravi was to be the boundary. Daulat Khan then sent Sultan Mahmud back to Multan, and Jam Bayazid to Shor; after which, he himself proceeded to Lahore.

Notwithstanding that the terms of peace had been adjusted by so wise a man as Daulat Khan, yet it did not endure long. In the interim, Mir Jakir Zand,[268] with his two sons, named Mir Ilahdad, and Mir Shahdad, came to Multan from Mavi. It was Mir Shahdad that introduced the principles of the Shia creed into Multan.

As the Langah family had great respect for Malik Suhrab Dudari, Mir Jakir Zand could not remain in Multan. He therefore sought the protection of Jam Bayazid, who treated him with

[266] *These extracts are from the seperate history of Multan. They were printed in the old vol. of 1849.*

[267] *Shor or Shorkote, is twenty-six miles north of Tulamba, and on the road from that place to Jhang. Among the extensive ruins of this place, the most remarkable is a mound of earth, surrounded by a brick wall, and high enough to be seen from a circuit of six or eight miles. Native tradition represents it to be the capital of a Raja of the name of Shor, who was conquered by a king from the west.—Burnes. Bokhara, vol. iii., p. 131.*

[268] *This agrees with the name as given by Briggs, but in the original of Firishta it is Mir 'Imad Gurdezi. In many other respects there is a great difference between the original and translation, and it is evident that the translator must have used a different manuscript in this portion of his work.*

respect, and was pleased to grant a portion of his private domain for the support of the Mir's family.

Jam Bayazid was a man of beneficent character and of generous spirit and was particularly anxious to promote the interests of the learned and virtuous. He is said to have sent their pensions to Multan from Shor, even during the period of actual hostilities. His generosity towards men of talent was so notorious, that many persons of distinction quitted their homes and took up their abode at Shor. He earnestly invited many others to resort to that place, and among them Maulana 'Azizu-lla, pupil of Maulana Fathu-lla, whom he urgently pressed to come. On his apprach to Shor, Jam Bayazid received him with much honour, conducted him to his private apartments, and ordered his servants to pour water over the Maulana's hands, and then, by way of a blessing, to sprinkle the same water on the four corners of his house.

There is a curious anecdote concerning the Maulana and Shaikh Jalalu-d din Kuraishi, *vakil* of Jam Bayazid, which, though not much to the purpose of this history, is yet here recorded for an example, and as an awakening from the sleep of neglect. It is this : When the Jam received the Maulana with such unusual distinction, and took him into his private apartments, the Shaikh sent to the Maulana, and told him that Jam Bayazid had given him his compliments, and desired that the Maulana should select for himself one of the slave-girls who had been ordered to attend him. The Maulana sent one of his own servants to Jam Bayazid, and said in reply, "God forbid that a man should ever look upon the women of his friend ; moreover, such sentiments are unworthy of my advanced age." Jam Bayazid replied that he had no knowledge of the imputed message. The Maulana being much embrassed at this, cursed the person that sent the message to him, saying, "May his neck be broken !" and returned to his home without even seeing Jam Bayazid, who was not informed of his departure until he had actually left his dominions. It so happened that the curse of the Maulana took effect ; for after Shaikh Jalau-d din came to Shor, having deserted the service of Sultan Sikandar,

he chanced one night to miss his footing, when he fell from an upper storey with his head downwards, and literally broke his neck.

After the conquest of the Panjab in 930 H., by the late Zahiru-d din Muhammad Babar Badshah Ghazi, that monarch, at the time of his return to Dehli, sent a commission to Mirza Shah Husain Arghun, governor of Tatta, ordering him to take charge of Multan and its neighbouring districts. He accordingly crossed the river near the fort of Bhakkar, and marched towards Multan with a large army. The wind of the divine wrath began to blow, and a great flood arose. When information of this reached Sultan Mahmud, he trembled. Then he collected all his forces, and advanced to the distance of two days' journey from the city of Multan. He sent Shaikh Bahau-d din Kuraishi, successor to the celebrated Shaikh Bahadu-d din Zakariya (may God sanctify his sepulchre !), as an ambassador to Mirza Shah Husain, and appointed Maulana Bahlol, who was noted for the grace of his eloquence, as well as the elegance of his ideas, to accompany the Shaikh. The Mirza received them with much honour and said that he had come with the view of chastising Sultan Mahmud, and of visiting Shaikh Bahau-d din Zakariya's tomb. The Maulana stated that it would suffice if the chastisement of Sultan Mahmud were effected at a distance, in the same manner as the Prophet had mentally admonished Awais Karn, and that Shaikh Bahau-d din was already come to his presence, inasmuch as he himself was the representative of Zakariya, and that there was therefore no need of his troubling himself to proceed any further. They were, however, unsuccessful in accomplishing the objects of their interview, and returned to the Sultan, who died suddenly in the same night, poisoned, it is said, by Langer Khan, one of his slaves. He died A.H. 933, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

RESPECTING SULTAN HUSAIN, SON OF SULTAN MAHMUD OF MULTAN

After the death of Sultan Mahmud, Kawam Khan Langah and Langar Khan, who were the commanders of Sultan Mahmmud's

army, deserted their king, and joined Mirza Shah Husain Arghun, and having met with a kind reception from him, they subsequently took possession of the different towns of Multan in the name of the Mirza, while the remaining Langah chiefs, confounded at this intelligence, hastened to Multan, and proclaimed the son of Sultan Mahmud as king, under the title of Sultan Shah Husain, and read the *khutba* in his name—though he was but a child. But he was king only in name for Shaikh Shuja'u-l Mulk Bukhari, son-in-law of Sultan Mahmud, assuming the office of *wazir*, secured to himself all the regal power.

By the advice of this inexperienced man, they took refuge in the fort, which had scarcely one month's provisions in it; while Mirza Shah Husain, deeming the death of Sultan Mahmud a most convenient opportunity for the conquest of the country, immediately laid siege to the fort.

After a few days, the garrison finding the provisions of the fort were consumed, and that they were about to perish, came to Shaikh Shuja-l Mulk, who was the cause of his country's disasters, and solicited his permission to divide their forces and give the enemy battle, representing at the same time that they had still some vigour left, that their horses were fresh and that it was not improbable that the gale of victory might incline to their side; and that to remain inactive and beleaguered as they were was expedient only when there was some hope of receiving succour from without,—which was not at all a probable contingency in their case.

The Shaikh did not make any reply, but retiring to a private apartment, he invited the attendance of some of the chiefs, and said that as the sovereignty of Shah Husain Langah had not as yet been well established, he was afraid, lest most of their men, on making a sally from the fort, should take the opportunity to desert, and join Mirza Shah Husain, in hope of receiving a favourable reception, and that the small remnant who had regard for their reputation, and who would make a stand, would be slain. Maulana Sa'du-lla of Lahore, a learned man of that time, who was in the fort of Multan on this occasion, relates that a few months after the siege had com-

menced, when all the avenues of the fort were closed by the enemy, and no one was able to enter for the purpose of rendering assistance, or go out for the purpose of escaping his doom (for the attempt was attended with certain destruction), the garrison were at last reduced to such extremities, as to be compelled to consume dogs and cats, which were partaken of with as much avidity as if they had been the choicest goats and lambs. The protection of the fort was committed by Shaikh Shuja'u-l Mulk to the charge of a vagabond, named Jadu, who had three thousand militia of the country under him. That wretch entered all the houses wherever he had the least expectation of finding grain, and plundered them so unscrupulously, that the people earnestly prayed for Shaikh Shuja'u-l Mulk's destruction.

At last, the besieged were reduced to so desperate a condition that they preferred being killed to a slow death by famine, and they accordingly threw themselves down from the walls of the fort into the ditch. Mirza Shah Husain, being aware of their distress, refrained from killing them. After a siege of one year and several months, his men, one night towards the dawn, entered the fort, and made great slaughter. All the inhabitants between the age of seven and seventy were taken prisoners. They treated most oppressively all the citiizens on whom there was the least suspicion of possessing wealth, and treated them with various kinds of indignity. This took place at the close of A. H. 934.

Maulana Sa'du-lla gives an account of what happened to himself in the following words.

"When the fort was captured by the Arghuns, a party of them entered my house, seized on my father, Maulana Ibrahim Jama, (who, in studying and teaching various sciences for sixty-five years, had, in the evening of his life, lost the use of his sight), and made him prisoner. Seeing the neatness and comfort of our house, they suspected that gold was somewhere concealed, and consequently treated us with great indignity. Another person came and bound me, and sent me as a present to the *wazir* of the Mirza. The *wazir* was sitting on a wooden platform in the

open area when I reached his house, and he ordered me to be bound with a chain, of which one end was tied to one of the feet of the platform. I did not, however, grieve for myself, but I could not help shedding tears, when I recollected my father's sad condition.

"After a while, he called for his escritoire, mended his pen, and then rose up and went into the house, with the intention of washing his hands and feet, and praying, before he sat down to write. There was no one left in the place but myself, so I approached the platform, and wrote, on the very paper on which the *wazir* had intended to write, the following verse from an ode (*Bardah*)—'Do not your eyes see how I am weeping, and do you never say, "Weep no more," and does your heart never suggest to you that you should have pity upon me?' After which, I immediately resumed my place, and began to weep. After his return, when he was just beginning to write, he saw the lines, and began to look round to see who might have written them; but finding that there was nobody except myself, he wished me to declare if I had written it, and on my confessing to have done so, he inquired more about my affairs, and on hearing my father's name, he immediately got up, released me from my fetters, and having clothed me with a garment of his own, mounted his horse and proceeded immediately to the *dīwān-khāna* of the Mirza, and introduced me to him. The Mirza sent some one to search after my father, and to bring him to his presence.

"The people around the Mirza were talking upon religious subjects, when my father was respectfully brought to that assembly, and the Mirza, after bestowing *khila'ts*, the one on my father, the other on myself, encouraged my father to relate to him the circumstances of his life, and he accordingly related them, notwithstanding the agitation of his mind. He recounted them with so much pathos and eloquence, that the auditors were charmed with him, and the Mirza requested the pleasure of his company, on his return to his own country.

"The Mirza ordered all of my father's plundered property to be restored, and that a compensation in money should be

given for that; which could not be recovered; but my father begged to be excused from accompanying him, saying that he was too old to undertake such a journey, when the time of his preparing for his last pilgrimage was so near; and according to his words he did die only two months after this occurrence."

When the fort was captured, the Mirza committed Sultan Husain to the custody of an officer, and treated Shaikh Shuja'u-l Mulk Bukhari with various indignities, and a large sum of money was daily extracted from him. The country of Multan had by this time been much devastated, so that there was no hope of its attaining its former prosperity; but the Mirza, nevertheless, not thinking its restoration so very difficult, left the country in charge of Khwaja Shamsu-d din, with Langar Khan to assist him, and he himself returned to Tatta. Under the judicious management of Langar Khan, the country was again populated and he subsequently turned out the Khwaja, with the assistance of the people, and made himself master of the country.

After the death of Babar, Humayun succeeded to the throne of Hindustan, and bestowed the Panjab in *jagir* upon Mirza Kamran, who sent a message to Langar Khan requesting his attendance, and on the Khan's waiting upon him at Lahore, he was pleased to confer on him the country of Pabal in exchange for Multan. In the end, the King assigned as his residence a place at Lahore, now known by the name of Daira Langar Khan, which is one of most celebrated quarters of Lahore. From this time forward Multan again came under the dominion of the Kings of Dehli. After the death of Mirza Kamran, it passed to Sher Khan (Sher Shah), from Sher Khan to Salim Khan (Islam Shah), and from him to the officers of His Majesty Akbar, all which changes have been mentioned in their respective places.

END OF PART TWO